Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-89-226 *27 November 1989*

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Mladenov Discusses Changes at Interior Ministry

AU2511195089 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 25 Nov 89

["Changes at the Interior Ministry"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA)—The collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided to resolve [as received] the Sixth Department of the Ministry, which in the past was assigned the task to "lead the struggle against ideological diversion."

This was announced today at a meeting of Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

At the meeting Mr Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, made important proposals for transition of a number of functions of the ministry to other state and public institutions in the spirit of the deep democratic changes in Bulgaria. The minister informed of concrete measures concerning the improvement of the work of the law enforcement authorities in accordance with the new political situation. The structure of the ministry is simplified and its staff reduced.

After an analysis of the situation in this country, Mr Petur Mladenov stressed the important role of the law enforcement authorities in the present period of innovation. Their chief function was determined as "protector of lawfulness, peace, the peaceful work and the rights of the citizens, the security of the state and the individual."

It was pointed out at the meeting that in the past under the influence of the administrative-command style mistakes have been made, there has been an inclination toward actions based on force at the expense of the educative work and dialogue. These shortcomings and the stereotypes related to them should be overcome fast. The supremacy of the humane socialist law, before which all are equal, should be consolidated in all actions of the law enforcement bodies. Mr Peter Mladenov stressed that without a modern, highly humane militia and law enforcement authorities, it is not possible to create a law-abiding state constructing socialist society.

The participants in the meeting supported without any reserve the course of innovation as the only alternative for Bulgaria.

Party Newspaper Views Need for Press Law

AU2411144289 Sofia BTA in English
1218 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—Under the conditions of restructuring, the lack of a press and information law results in enhancing two basic trends in social life, namely:

1. Interference in the mass media activity on the part of administrative and, first of all, authorities which should protect the law.

2. Preservation of the information structures inherited from the command-administrative period which still do not seem to specially need any legislative regulation of their activity.

The above conclusions are made in a signed article published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO under the column "Restructuring Discussed". The paper points out that Article 54 of the Bulgarian Constitution contains provisions for the freedom of speech and press without any conditions and restrictions, except for making propaganda for war. Noting however that there are some unclear points in the Criminal Code, the author suggests that a law should be made and passed which would serve as the bulwark of the freedom of information, including free access to the mass media for expressing personal and public opinions, explicitly prohibiting at the same time censorship of the mass media.

According to the author the restrictions which the law should contain so that it is in conformity with international standards are the following:

—Disseminating information which is a state secret or incites to changing the state and social order by force or poses a threat to the territorial integrity, the national security and the constitutional order of Bulgaria. Making propaganda for war, disseminating fascist ideology and religious and racial intolerance should be prohibited, too.

—Information that is made public should not violate citizens' rights or be to the prejudice of their lawful interests, the health and morality of the populace. Information which is personal, commercial or industrial secret can be made public only by consent of the parties concerned (persons or organizations) except for the cases of violating socialist law.

It is said in the article that the freedom of press is the most important conditions for giving the representatives of different social interests, which are objectively present in every society, the possibility of conducting a civilized and constructive dialogue.

Central Council Plenum on Union Reform Opens

AU2511165689 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Interview with reporter Petur Donchev by unidentified announcer on the opening of a plenum of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions in Sofia on 25 November]

[Text] [Announcer] An expanded plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Union opened in Sofia this morning. Reporter Petur Donchev has just returned from the Georgi Kirkov Hall, where he was observing the

work of the plenum. Colleague Donchev, how would you briefly characterize this event in the life of the trade unions?

[Donchev] It is an extremely important one, and what I say is not merely a cliche. I come from the hall where, without excessive emotions, extremely frank talks and discussions have already begun. It is evident that everyone wants to state their own view on the important issues relating to the place and activity of the trade unions in view of the major changes that have occurred following the two plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Assembly session, and the decision of the Politburo.

[Annnouncer] You will probably agree with me that a large proportion of the workers have no faith in these trade unions.

[Donchev] Of course. It is precisely this that is being discussed now: how to restore this confidence, and how the Bulgarian trade unions are to become an organization which, in practice—and I emphasize this phrase—serves the interests of the people and the needs of the time, because otherwise they may be rejected as an organization unfit to carry out its true function. This has been proved by life itself.

What is more, the previous model for trade unions is now proving to a large degree to be ineffective and unsuitable. These are not strong words, I hope; there is simply no other alternative.

[Announcer] I understand that Comrade Petur Dyulgerov made an introductory speech. Please briefly describe this speech.

[Donchev] The speech by the chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions was strong and direct; it was frank. I will not speak about it in detail, but will quote his words: We have to see what we are and what we have to be in the future. This assessment will certainly have to be pitiless, both toward ourselves and toward all the others, who for years on end regarded the trade unions as acolytes of authority.

[Announcer] Do you have any tape recording of the speech?

[Donchev] I do have one, of course. The speech will be published in full, but let us listen to part of the speech, which deals with very important matters.

[Begin Dyulgerov recording] During the entire period from the end of the forties until now, the trade unions were allotted the role of transmission and deprived of autonomy and independence. They formed an inseparable component of the command-administrative system. The paradox—and the drama of the trade unions lies in this—is that the trade unions were part of the structures of power but had no power themselves and were subordinated to those in power. In my view, here lies the source of all the trade unions' troubles. [end recording]

[Announcer] Let us return again to the fact that the workers, who are members of the trade unions, are alienated from their own organization. They simply have no confidence in it.

[Donchev] Confidence? You have posed this issue correctly. It is clear that the development of confidence will be a difficult, long, and complex process, but this must be done at all costs. In my view, there is no other way.

In the hall at the moment a debate is in progress on a draft resolution of the fifth plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. I will quote part of the resolution, although it is still in draft form, but I believe that the participants in the plenum must vote for it. The draft states as follows:

We realize that confidence in the organization has been undermined and that the Bulgarian trade unions are obliged to win a new vote of confidence. Guided by all this, the plenum declares the Bulgarian trade unions independent.

It is not to be excluded that some of the points in the draft resolution may be changed in the course of the discussion, and this is likely to be so, but the title of the draft resolution reads: The Bulgarian Trade Unions: Independence, Protection, Action.

What is more, 150 elected authorized representative of large industrial enterprises throughout the country will be voting on the draft resolution. The plenum gave them the right to vote together with the members of the plenum itself.

Independence Approved

AU2511215589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The fifth expanded plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions took place today in the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia. Taking part in the plenum were 150 elected authorized representatives from major industrial enterprises in Bulgaria, who were unanimously given the right to vote.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov made the introductory speech. In a critical and self-critical spirit, he outlined the activity of the Bulgarian trade unions up to the present, analyzing the problems and facts which led to the alienation of the worker trade union members from their own organization and the absence of confidence in it. He dealt with the important issues connected with the place and role of the trade unions following the changes ensuing in the new political situation after the 10 November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

In an open, democratic discussion, the participants in the plenum examined and adopted a resolution of the Fifth Plenum under the heading— The Bulgarian Trade Unions: Independence, Protection, Action.

The resolution expresses full support for the political course announced at the 10th Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, and a demand is voiced for solving the workers' important social problems. Among other things, this important document adopted at the plenum states: The plenum concludes that no place exists any longer for the trade unions that have operated until now as part of the command-administrative system, with their role as a transmission system. Society and working people need revived trade unions based on the principles of syndicalism, with a new platform for action. We realize that confidence in the organization has been undermined and that the Bulgarian trade unions are obliged to win a new vote of confidence. Guided by all this, the plenum declares the Bulgarian trade unions as independent [nezavisimi].

Further on, the document states that the Bulgarian trade unions are independent of the political organizations, the state organs and structures, and the economic and administrative leaderships and organizations, as well as from the public organizations and movements. It is emphasized that trade union activity is under the control solely of the trade union members and is accountable only to them, while the trade unions are an organization in which the members [passage indistinct], and which operates within the framework of socialist choice, in accordance with the Constitution, the laws, and the trade union statute.

The full texts of Comrade Petur Dulgerov's introductory speech and all the speeches at the plenum will be published on Monday [27 November] in the TRUD newspaper.

Trenchev Comments on Opposition Trade Union

PM2211151889 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 15 Nov 89 p 6

[Interview with Konstantin Trenchev, founder of opposition trade union Podkrepa, by Georges Dupoy—date and place not given]

[Text] LE QUOTIDIEN: What difference will the change of leadership make for Bulgaria?

Konstantin Trenchev: We think that these changes are only the precursor to other political, economic, cultural, and social changes. This is not so much because the new government has a desire to make these changes, but because it is obliged to do so given the very deep crisis which our country is experiencing. We think that Mr Mladenov's new government will realize that it is obliged to introduce reforms.

At first, the new team will probably have some apprehensions, but the independent forces, the independent meetings, and the people's desire for change will prompt them to take action.

LE QUOTIDIEN: What was the reaction of the informal groups which demonstrated recently in Sofia?

Konstantin Trenchev: Nobody expected Zhivkov to fall so quickly. The number of new members now joining these groups is growing by the hour. We are receiving thousands of membership applications. We are holding a demonstration in downtown Sofia on Saturday morning, and we expect a large number of people to take part in it.

When the radio and television announced the news, a people's celebration spontaneously broke out, like Christmas. People drank a great deal and congratulated each other in the streets. There was shouting and singing. You cannot imagine what happened.

LE QUOTIDIEN: Do the informal movements have a political agenda?

Konstantin Trenchev: In a totalitarian regime, this kind of movement cannot avoid political demands. They are forced to have a political agenda because the mere fact of seeking a democratic path through the totalitarian system is itself a political approach.

All these groups are beginning to seek solutions to the problems created by 45 years of dictatorship.

I think that the time has come for the informal groups—I prefer the term democratic opposition—to meet.

LE QUOTIDIEN: What is the economic situation?

Konstantin Trenchev: The crisis is such that it is difficult to imagine how to overcome it. The foreign debt is more than $8 billion. The government borrowed indiscriminately without thinking that it would have to repay the money one day. Nobody now works in rural areas. Rural inhabitants have been attracted to the cities under the pretext of better wages, and the result is that there is a growing lack of vegetables, fruit, and food products in the stores. Prices are increasing and wages are stagnating. There is inflation, but it is not officially discussed.

I think that the new government will have to take very very unpopular economic measures.

LE QUOTIDIEN: Will the informal groups support the new government?

Konstantin Trenchev: Yes, to some extent—in other words, to the extent that it gives us the assurance that it really intends to introduce democratic reforms.

'Democracy Club' Established at Sofia University

AU2411093789 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 24 Nov 89

["'Democracy' Club at the Sofia University"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—A Democracy Club was founded at the Sofia University as an independent association of the university community with the aim of turning into a tribune for free expression of the opinion of all members of the university body.

The first item in the platform of the club reads: autonomy of the St. Kliment of Okhrid University. With the demand for real independence, spoke also the newly elected rector of the University Academician Nikola Popov, who was restored recently to his job in it. The independent student's society also stood for autonomy of the higher schools.

The Democracy Club stands for rights and freedoms of all members of the university body, for democratization of the University in the framework of the democratization of the entire society.

Chairman of the club is the corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Prof. Nikolay Genchev. He was one of the members of the initiative group for democratic elections in the University. As a result of the activity of this group on November 13, this year, for the first time since a number of years, the Academic Council and the rector of the University were elected democratically. Prof. Nikolay Genchev was the one to get most votes for the Academic Council.

Nikolay Genchev, a professor in history and specialist in culture studies, said that the Democracy Club should discuss questions of importance for the entire society, as well as for the University. He offered as a topic of the first meeting: political democracy and socialism. Further on he said that the club should cooperate for the cultivation of democratic habits, tolerance and ability for dialogue.

Historically necessary changes are forthcoming in this country and the academic community cannot but take part in them with its opinion. The only weapon of the club will be the discussion, said Prof. Nikolay Genchev.

Democracy, as well as the independent student's society stand for dialogue with the university leadership in the name of democratic changes. The student's society stood also for deideologization of science and the training process, for freedom of association of the student's youth and appeals for the establishment of Student's Union.

Ecoglasnost Association Approves Statute

AU2511151889 Sofia BTA in English 2217 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—The Ecoglasnost Independent Association, whose members number at present 101 persons, approved today its statute and elected its leading bodies.

The aim of the association is to work for the complete openness concerning ecological problems in Bulgaria, for the improvement of the living environment and ecological protection of the population.

The tasks of Ecoglasnost are to gather information on projects polluting the environment and their impact on the population and the biosphere, to give openness to such kind of information through suitable forms.

The statute adopted today envisages that the association will work out programmes of work, set up commissions and research units, organize public discussion on important ecological issues.

Many citizens wishing to become members of Ecoglasnost as well as adherents of the association were present at the meeting.

BZNS Daily Calls for 'Healthy Skepticism'

AU2311114189 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 17 Nov 89 p 5

[Krum Blagov article: "I Cannot Forget"]

[Text] I am tired of living with hopes. I am 36 years old and, as long as I can remember, I have heard nothing but talk about the future. I was 9 years old when one of the many historic congresses was held. On that occasion they promised us that we would enjoy rivers of milk and honey when we grew up. This was the first promise I remember. (There may have been others prior to those which I do not remember). However, I recall those that came later. They promised us, for example, that by 1980, and later by 1983, that there would be no housing shortage in Sofia. It is now 1989, and the files on the housing shortage not only have not disappeared from the municipal councils, but they are piling up on desks.

I remember at least three "new economic mechanisms." Each of them was welcomed with optimism and seen off with curses. Today odes of praise are sung to the company-based organization, which, like all other previous reforms, has not proved its usefulness for the consumers. In the past, evaluations have always been ahead of events or have emerged along with them, but never coincided with the final results.

Let us stop living with the bright future! We are a skeptical generation, because we grew up with promises. We have had enough of them. Healthy skepticism will be useful for us as an antidote to so many years of unfounded optimism. Perhaps tomorrow we shall define as realism what we call pessimism today, as happened always in the past.

Today they are trying to persuade us that a new era is beginning. However, I cannot forget the tales of my parents, who described what they believed in 1956. I cannot forget that most of the people who are now writing about "Spring in November," until yesterday used to glorify the April spring. Some people have lived all their lives in spring, thanks to this attitude. It is still too early to talk about a historical turning point. Let us not take over the role of history. Let us be modest and not exaggerate. Let us just say: The first steps are promising.

People say: "I believe in old friends." I, for my part, believe in old enemies. Only those who called stagnation by its proper name, while others defined it as upsurge, have the moral right to denounce the past today. It is

easy to defend a just cause when the majority supports it. This is not heroism. On the contrary, as we have had the opportunity to see, hear, and read in the last few days, it may even be unworthy. There can be no heroism without risk.

I do not intend to justify the former leadership. On the contrary, I am in favor of holding personally responsible all those who contributed to the present situation. The economic decline, the lack of confidence in the government, the deterioration of personal relations, the moral decay, and the increasing criminality—all these things show that our society is involved in a crisis. However, let us hold responsibile all of those who are guilty and not only those who have been overthrown. We shall not go forward so long as we fail to critically evaluate both the past and the present, so long as we do not talk to our leaders with that openmindedness and strictness which we reserved to foreign leaders in the past. We should express our opinions in public, and not by telling private jokes about them. We would like the militia to persecute the real criminals and not people who are telling jokes. We should no longer worry whether the "editor in chief will let out the facts" when he should simply tell the truth. In other words, we would like to express our thoughts without being afraid to do so. Freedom of speech is the basis of all other freedoms.

Promises for the future, just like denunciations of the past—regardless of how useful they might be—remain a sort of escape from the present. Truth about the past is necessary, but the truth of today is even more necessary. Half of our lives passed by uttering just one name, while the bright future did not take place. Let us come back to the present and look it in the face.

Daily on 'Authoritarian Style of Thinking'

AU1711174989 Sofia BTA in English 1543 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—The November Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] firmly indicated that the command and administrative system which has been acting for decades is the main brake of renewal, that the qualitatively new tasks presuppose also a qualitatively new thinking and action, writes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO Prof Dr Vasil Vichev.

The Bulgarian scholar analyses topical issues of restructuring under the heading "The Authoritarian Style of Acting and Thinking." He indicates that it is necessary now to analyse not only the economic but also the socio-economic defeats, caused by the command and bureaucratic system, but also the resulting serious deformations in the spiritual life of society. One of the consequences of this system in the sphere of social conscience is the authoritarian style of thinking which paralyses the freedom of creation of the intellect and constantly reproduces contradiction between words and deeds, between declared and realized values, Prof Vichev writes.

Vasil Vichev writes that "the debureaucratization of conscience is as vital a need for restructuring as is the eradication of the parasitic units in the system of social management."

Deputy Slavcho Trunski Denounces Zhivkov

AU1711104689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Speech by National Assembly deputy Slavcho Trunski at the 11th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Comrade National Assembly deputies, I regret very much that Todor Zhivkov is not attending this session, because I feel uncomfortable talking behind his back, but I expected that he would have the decency to attend this session of the National Assembly, and, because until now he has been used to hearing only superlatives, to also hear some critical remarks about his work.

The question of relieving Todor Zhivkov from the post of National Assembly chairman is being submitted to the National Assembly. Until yesterday's plenum, if someone may have had some misgivings as to whether he should thank Todor Zhivkov and wish him a happy old age, the statements made by some comrades yesterday unmasked his real face as a leader and convinced everyone that he does not deserve such honor.

For over 35 years, he steered the party and state, and for 35 years, he tortured our economy with all sorts of concepts, reorganizations, and all kinds of inventions. For over 35 years, he consistently and stubbornly applied bureaucratic methods and arbitrarily defined various periods and stages of socialism, calling socialism either mature or real and sometimes so highly developed that we are accumulating as much as two Bulgarias, but we now see that not even one Bulgaria exists, to which we have aspired in our dreams.

Voluntarism, infinite arrogance, extreme self-conceit, and [words indistinct] were the characteristics of his long leadership. We shall soon learn how decisions were adopted for the construction of giant plants—on which we spent billions of leva—that were almost totally wasted. We shall learn about his methods of leadership, of intolerable approaches for a man of his rank, and how he pitted his colleagues against each other, how he imposed his opinions, how he eliminated inconvenient people or people whom he suspected of being likely to become such. I also witnessed numerous incidents of this kind.

On several occasions, he would humiliate National Defense Minister General Dobri Dzhurov in front of the whole People's Army staff, calling him a lice-covered chap. It may have been a joke, but a president, the general secretary of a party, should not take the liberty of making this kind of joke in front of the whole People's Army staff. We witnessed how he chased Comrade

Radenko Grigorov from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, and subsequently from the National Assembly, because the latter dared to express disagreement with his unfortunate proposal to appoint a mining engineer instead of an agronomist as Central Committee secretary in charge of agriculture, because he was just in love with him. But a few years later, he fell out of love with him and eliminated him from the Politburo.

The same happened to Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov, whom he removed from the Central Committee.

Recently, he could not control himself and often lost his sense of balance. However, he was so convinced of his irremovability that on several occasions he jokingly dropped the remark at Central Committee meetings that his father lived to 105, which he meant as a warning, wishing to say in other words: "Think about it—I will not die so soon."

There are not many leaders in this world to whom monuments have been built during their lifetime. Being a sly fox, he pretended to be so modest that he ordered the militia to remove a monument to him erected in his native village. Later on, however, it turned out that he gave this order, not out of modesty, but because he did not like the monument. This [words indistinct] can be discoverd at each step. Look at his works, how many he has written; they could hardly be counted. Can you compare Dostoyevski, Balzac, and Ivan Vazov with the world-famous [word indistinct] writer Todor Zhivkov; and it is a pity that his novice Lyubomir Levchev did not receive him as a member of the Writers Union, which was a great loss indeed. His works were published in innumerable places. There is hardly a corner in the world where they have not been published. Naturally, the publication was at the expense of no one else but Their Majesties, the Bulgarian People. Moreover, the volumes were paid for in foreign currency, printed on the most luxurious paper, and in the most expensive binding.

You could ask, when did he write all those books? You are entitled to this question. Those works have been written by a collective of 20-30 people, while he only signed them. The practice was introduced of having accountability reports of the BCP Central Committee submitted to plenums and congresses—on which several dozens of people had worked—printed as his own reports, and subsequently as his works. Naturally, this could not have happened were it not for flatterers, such as Milko Balev, who was traveling throughout the world at state expense, in order to bring the author his first edition in person.

We should really ask ourselves: Have such people have a conscience or not?

Once upon a time, Tsar Ferdinand, and King Boris who followed him, had only four residences altogether: Vrana, Krichim, Borovets, and Evsinograd. How many of them belong to our tsar, whom we made Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Hero of Socialist Labor, and who out of feigned modesty did not wish to be conferred a third hero's title? Todor Zhivkov today has no fewer than 30 residences. People are not joking in vain when they say that, in terms of residences per capita, Bulgaria takes first place in the world. If they were at least to be used, but they are standing empty waiting for the president or for some guest from abroad, while the maintainance costs go on. Yesterday I proposed at the BCP Central Committee that one should think about the most efficient use of these residences, because even the richest state cannot afford such luxury. Something else: The Evsinograd residence was opened to the public at the time of King Boris, and many students, including me, saw how the king lived. Today, however, Evsinograd is not accessible either to tourists or to the general public. Let us not talk about the hunting grounds. Almost the whole country was transformed into reservations in which the president hunted, and it was natural that he owned the richest collection of deer trophies and [words indistinct]. We ask ourselves: When could this man find time to write fat books, to work out concepts, to go hunting, and to prepare his speeches? He also made himself ridiculous with all his memoranda to the Politburo. Hardly a few months passed, and look here, another memorandum was being sumbitted to the Politburo. You will ask: Did his colleagues at the Politburo ever prevent him from taking the floor, so that he could write memoranda? This was the atmosphere he created; this was his style. Our president is a master of reorganizations [words indistinct]. He involved Bulgaria in reorganizations, and it did not matter whether a new structure had not yet revealed its positive and negative aspects. If today we proposed some new structure, [words indistinct] he replaced the old by a new one.

I do not understand why the comrades in the Central Committee complied with his whims, why they allowed him to spoil good [words indistinct] in order to make unhappy proposals? Bulgarians have become an object of ridicule in the eyes of other countries with all these reorganizations. Such things, however, also require the mastery and the cunning of a real "Shop" [inhabitant of Sofia region]: doing nothing substantial but pretending that we are about to accomplish something great and new achievements.

Comrade National Assembly deputies, I sincerely doubt Todor Zhivkov sincerely wished or tried to bring about restructuring. You certainly remember one of his numerous memoranda to the Politburo of 4 February 1987. The basic idea that inspired the whole memorandum was that we have already accomplished restructuring through the April Plenum in 1956, as a result of which there is nothing to be restructured. After he visited China, he said for the first time that we are going to implement restructuring in all spheres of our society.

I pray you to correct me if I am mistaken, but I think that this is a fact. I remember this letter, namely this memorandum, because members of the Soviet Embassy were in a panic. What is going on; why did it happen? At that time, we found the following justification: What about

it? Let there be some countries that are stable in order to help those who are engaged in restructuring. [passage indistinct]

I have also had a bad experiences with him. What is worse, however, he tried to bring about a split between me and my best comrades in arms, to stir up hostilities. On several occasions he staged unpleasant situations involving me, and when I was going to be crucified, he suddenly appeared in the role of my rescuing angel. For appearances' sake, everything had to be his achievement and go to his credit. He did not tolerate and could not stand people around him who had a better record than he, or who were more popular than he. The most characteristic description of his methods was the ancient maxim: divide and rule. He not only opposed people to one another and selected only those who were most loyal to him, but as soon as he noticed that someone in the Central Committee apparatus was particularly distinguishing himself, he immediately eliminated him.

He was extremely afraid of coups. In his style of work he always tried to create situations where things should ultimately depend on him, and he could emerge as the only one who could find the final solution.

Once more, thanks to his closest confident Milko Balev; he [words indistinct]. He was dissatisfied with things written about him in biographical books. He was dissatisfied with Veselin Andreev's memoirs; therefore he chased him away and persecuted him; he was dissatisfied with Dobri Dzhurov; he was dissatisfied with Petur Iliev—all this because he was not sufficiently mentioned in their books, because his role and personality were not sufficiently pointed out. Such is our president—an insatiable character, greedy for glory.

There was a time when the publishing houses did not even print a book of memoires in which Todor Zhivkov's role was not sufficiently stressed and emphasized, and I know that numerous people complied with this. I know that some of his comrades in arms from the Chavdar partisan detachment tried to talk to him in a friendly way, as to a comrade in arms, and convince him that Milko Balev is not a decent person, that he is undermining his authority. They appealed to Todor Zhivkov to get rid of him, but instead of listening to their appeals and warnings, he placed them in extremely difficult situations. This is understandable. Who would cut off his own right hand? Who would harm his confidante, and who would [word indistinct].

Comrades, our country was very close to becoming a hereditary socialist republic. This was also something unprecedented in the world. Todor Zhivkov was trying to achieve this with all his efforts. You know that he made his daughter a Politburo member. A few months ago he disrupted a whole Central Committee department in order to divide it into three, one of them designated for his son, Vladko. He certainly intended to make him a department chief to begin with, and then to promote him either to secretary of the Central Committee, or right away as a Politburo member. This could also be made possible, thanks to the flatterers, some of whom were sitting in the Politburo and in the Central Committee Secretariat, or were members of the State Councils.

We all have children, and all parents love their children, and therefore I understand his ambitions. However, the children should have some sense, as the people say; they should at least have some qualifications.

Nevertheless, the question is troubling us. What did we learn from our president, and what will we remember about him? With the aim of glorifying Zhivkov's personality and his family, tremendous sums of money were wasted in Pravets. Once he told us a story about how someone asked him during one of his visits: "Todor, have you done something for your village?" and he answered: "I have not." "Well, this is your mistake." So Todor quickly corrected his mistake and transformed Pravets into a palacial residence and into Bulgaria's second capital, adorned by his monument.

An effort to glorify the family was the establishment of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation, which is being handed over by inheritance, and the same applies to the Banner of Peace, and the Bells, and many other things. Let the Zhivkov family exist on television. I say a hundred times about all this: My God, my God, (?have I misunderstood all this?)

Different rumors are going about today concerning the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation. The legal investigation against Zhivko Popov and others arrested by the Ministry of Internal Affairs who have stood trial has showed that this foundation provided great opportunities for some people to amass great wealth. This is why I propose to establish a party-governmental commission, composed of deputies, of course, that should be in charge of investigating this foundation, and if it should continue to exist, all channels through which unjustified profits may be gained should be closed.

In addition to this, foreign radio stations are currently broadcasting reports on Vladimir Zhivkov having lost several million dollars gambling. We should check on this, and if it turns out to be true we should investigate whether this money is his own, his daddy's, or the people's, and start legal procedures against him if necessary.

I remember that between 1948 and 1952 [words indistinct] Ministry of Internal Affairs organs arrested dozens of communists, many of whom were former partisans, including me. Those comrades were subjected to unheard of physical and mental tortures. This was discussed at the Politburo, and Comrade Vladimir Poptomov took the initiative to suggest that the Politburo should establish a commission to investigate the procedures. Nevertheless, Comrade Poptomov died on 1 May 1952, and Todor Zhivkov, taking advantage of his

absence, took credit for having formed this commission. Since the dead cannot talk, he collected the glory for this. [passage indistinct]

Thanks to the sycophants, everything is linked to Todor Zhivkov's name, and this applies to uprisings, victory, and the construction of socialism. Nevertheless, the curtain will rise in the final account, and people will learn the truth, and we will learn why in the memorial devoted to Dimitur Blagoev, a relief made from mosaic is devoted to Todor Zhivkov. I cannot understand how he does not feel uncomfortable in being compared and equalled to such world-famous historical figures. On the contrary, he feels very comfortably side by side with "grandfather Blagoev" and Georgi Dimitrov. The explanation is that he was happy when people were trying to flatter him, when they connected Bulgaria's every achievement with his person, and he melted with satisfaction when they called him the strategian of the April policy, when they pointed out his handwriting, as some called it, when they pointed out that he was the only one capable of seeing innovation and foreseeing the future, while we now see how far Bulgaria has advanced with his clairvoyance.

Comrades, it is very good that we can tell him all these things as long as he is alive and among us, so that he may hear and become convinced of the falsity of his idol. In mentioning all these things, we remind the new State Council chairman and the other leaders to be careful, not to listen to praises and superlatives, because the flatterers have nothing to do but praise and glorify others, being convinced that they will profit from it.

Comrades, National Assembly deputies, what I said is merely a part of what must be said about Todor Zhivkov and his work.

I agree that he should be relieved as State Council chairman and that Comrade Petur Mladenov be elected to this post, and I support all other proposals on appointments and will vote for them. This will prevent me from taking the floor a second time.

Todorov Discusses Changes, Future Policy

AU1711122489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Nov 89 p 5

[Georg Paul Hefty report: "Every Kitchen Has Its Secrets"]

[Text] Bonn, 16 November—What is more important: Having been the second man of a dictatorial regime for 10 years or having been one of the first to say that things cannot continue as they are? Immediately after his return from a visit to the FRG, Stanko Todorov, president of the Bulgarian National Assembly, will have to face the Central Committee, which will decide on who of the old guard of the ousted party chief Zhivkov will fall victim to the new policy. The former premier (from 1971 to 1981) was removed from the Politburo about 1 year ago because, as it was said, he had turned against the policy of the stubborn old general secretary. Whether this is enough to keep his remaining posts or whether the 45-year-long steady participation—in various high posts—in a failed economic policy will be mentioned is considered uncertain in Bonn. At its special session, the Central Committee will probably remove Zhivkov's followers from the Politburo and replace them with functionaries, who have the reputation of being "reformers."

In an interview with this newspaper, Todorov answered the question about the intentions of the change from Zhivkov to the new party chief Mladenov: "The issue is the acceleration of democratization." In July 1987, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communists decided on a "platform" for restructuring the government system. Todorov stressed that the past "model" had been exhausted and that a broad democratization has become necessary. Glasnost and pluralism are the goals of the current change. It has proved necessary to reform the "political superstructure," not only the economy.

The 69-year-old National Assembly president, who has been a deputy since 1953, says, referring to 78-year-old Zhivkov: "Biological reasons alone" would have been sufficient for his replacement. In addition, "he liked to talk, but he was not in a hurry." In the party leadership, impatience had mounted; and among the grass roots of the party, discussion had spread. Zhivkov realized that his policy had caused a standstill. The change in the Central Committee took place "without friction."

Todorov rejects the question of how the decision in the Politburo came about: "In every kitchen there are many secrets." Which side was the decisive one? The party apparatus or the government? "The most courageous people from both sides," the National Assembly president says, "Premier Atanasov, Defense Minister Dzhurov, and also Foreign Minister Mladenov (who all belong to the Politburo) realized the necessity of change early."

On whether one will take other states as models in the changes, Todorov affirms that the new power structure will be of a special "Bulgarian kind." But he adds: "Basically, our reform will not be different from that of Gorbachev." A committee is preparing changes in the Constitution, but not in line with the example of the Supreme Soviet. The focal issue is the new regulation of the division of power. The Communist Party no longer wants to interfere directly in administration and in the economy, but only to play a "political role." One will return to a permanently working parliament, as it corresponds to Bulgarian tradition until 1944.

In the future it will be more obvious that two parties are working in Bulgaria: the Communist Party and the National Agrarian Union. Of the 400 deputies of the National Assembly, the Communist Party has 276, the National Agrarian Union 99, and the others belong to other social organizations. The two parties, which were

founded almost at the same time about 100 years ago, have long been competitors. Only during their work in the underground during World War II did cooperation begin to emerge. Today the Communist Party has 800,000 members and the National Agrarian Union 120,000 members. Todorov says that in the future the two parties should be able to nominate candidates for the National Assembly, and the same should go for the voters themselves, if they collect about 500 signatures for one candidate. Now the constitutional reform is being worked on with great speed. In the past Zhivkov was the chairman of the responsible committee, but he did not convene the committee one single time over the past 2 years.

In view of the fate of the Turkish minority, whose practical expulsion has damaged Bulgaria's reputation, Todorov recalls the 500-year-long Turkish occupation of his country. At that time "all means" were permissible concerning the assimilation by the Turks. Furthermore, over the past years, Turkey has "not pursued a particularly clever policy." After one-third of the members of the Islamic minority, who left Bulgaria in the spring, returned again; a more appropriate policy will be pursued in the future. The Muslims can leave at any time, but in Bulgaria they have apartments and houses and orderly working conditions. There are no religious obstacles for them either. The fiasco of the past months and Bulgaria's loss in prestige among the Western world did "not play a decisive role" in the change from Zhivkov to Mladenov. It is "not the most important question" of Bulgarian policy, either.

Todorov stresses that Bulgaria wants to start a new economic policy. The FRG is the No. 1 trading partner in the West. He calls upon German enterprises to make investments in Bulgaria—in whatever form they want—be it through the participation in stock companies or the establishment of their own branch offices. The National Assembly president, who also discussed this issue in Bonn with Foreign Minister Genscher, promises new laws to guarantee complete security to foreign investors. Asked whether his country is striving for a market economy as it exists in the FRG, Todorov, who once represented his country at the CEMA and was chief of the State Planning Commission for a long time, answers with a terse "yes."

WJC Chairman Praises Protection of Jews

AU1611151089 Sofia BTA in English
1442 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—The reason I have come to Bulgaria is not because there are problems with the Bulgarian Jews, said today Edgar Bronfman. On the contrary, the chairman of the World Congress of Jews went on, I am aware that Jews have equal rights in this country and are actively participating in social life like all other citizens.

What is more, the guest went on to say at a press conference for Bulgarian and foreign journalists, I saw the Bulgarian state's efforts to maintain the cult temples of the Bulgarian Jews.

Edgar Bronfman used the opportunity to thank once again the Bulgarian people for the protection of the Jewish people in this country at the time of fascism.

The chairman of the World Congress of Jews expressed his satisfaction with the talks held here and in particular with his meeting with Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. He highly assessed the optimism, patriotism amd pragmatism of the Bulgarian party leader. Bulgaria has a word to say to the world now, the guest said.

In reply to the question about the situation in the Middle East Edgar Bronfman dwelled on the possibilities for a political settlement of the conflict as a way to a lasting peace in the region.

Mladenov Greets CSSR's Urbanek on Election

AU2711104789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and on his personal behalf, Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has sent most cordial greetings to Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], on his election to this post. Wishes have been expressed for good health and creative successes in his highly responsible activity for profoundly and comprehensively restructuring the CSSR society along the road of socialism, for the benefit of the people of fraternal Czechoslovakia. The sincere conviction has been stressed that traditional and fraternal cooperation between the BCP and CPCZ will continue to successfully develop in the name of friendship between the two nations, and the cause of socialism and peace.

Mladenov Greets Ceausescu on Reelection

AU2411225289 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 24 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and State Council president of Bulgaria, has sent Mr Nicolae Ceaucescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] a cable of greetings on the occasion of his election for a secretary general of the RCP.

The cable expresses conviction that in future, too, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Romanian Communist Party will continue to work as actively for the further strengthening of Bulgaro-Romanian friendship, for the

development of cooperation between the two countries and peoples, to the interest of the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

RCP Congress Noted

AU2411165889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 89 p 5

[Goran Gotev report: "Main Theme"]

[Text] The reelection of Nicolae Ceausescu as secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the approval of the report presented by him and the drafts of the congress documents—this is the main theme of the 14th RCP Congress.

On 22 November, SCINTEIA and the other Romanian newspapers published in a central place the full text of Elena Ceausescu's speech. She declared at yesterday's meeting that "the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, contains a profound scientific, dialectic-materialistic analysis of the Romanian people's struggle against foreign oppression, and for forming the nation and the united national Romanian state, thus clearly outlining the decisive role of the people's progressive forces—the real constructors of Romania's century-old history."

The speaker pointed out the importance of the Ninth RCP Congress, since which time Nicolae Ceausescu has headed the RCP, because "that congress eliminated many negative phenomena and put an end to the policy of mechanically copying and admiring others, and determined the rejection of the so-called 'unique model' (of socialist construction—correspondent's note), restoring the party's confidence in its own forces."

Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu also spoke on 21 November. He enthusiastically supported the reelection of the general secretary, stressing, like all other speakers, that he is "the most beloved son of Romania, fearless strategist of Romania's socialist construction, tireless fighter for unity, independence, freedom, and sovereignty, and courageous and consistent defender of the cause of socialism and peace." "Therefore," Dascalescu continued, "expressing the loftiest feelings of high respect and boundless confidence, as well as profound loyalty toward the tested leader of the party and the state, I support from the bottom of my soul the reelection of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as RCP general secretary. I am firmly convinced that the presence of the architect of the most glorious and fruitful epoch in the country's entire history at the head of the party will guarantee the steady progress of our motherland toward implementing mankind's golden dream—communism."

The delegates who took the floor—leaders and figures of public and mass organizations, first secretaries of regional and municipal party committees, figures from the fields of labor, arts, and culture, generals, and high-ranking officers—called the first Romanian leader "the most noted and beloved son of the Romanian people," "a hero among our people's heroes," and "a genius-constructor of modern socialist Romania, with whose name the 'golden era, the Ceausescu era' is forever associated."

The participants in the discussion also stressed the "exceptional merits of Comrade Elena Ceausescu."

The delegates report in detail the successes that have been achieved in various areas of material and intellectual life during the period between the two congresses, laconically mentioning certain difficulties and shortcomings. In particular, they frequently stress the rejection of the so-called "only model" of constructing socialism, and, in this context, they point out the "political genius, prudent thought, and titanic activity" of the first Romanian leader in the struggle "against conservatism and routine thinking in socialist construction." They praise "the monumental theoretical and practical cause of Nicolae Ceausescu, which has gone down forever in the universal treasury."

The reports of the Mandate Commission and the Central Auditing Commission were presented to the congress.

Between the 13th and 14th RCP Congress the party's Central Committee received 492,136 letters, 5.9 percent more than during the preceding period. Some 80,300 people have been allowed to present their petitions and requests at the RCP Central Committee.

It was found at the press center that no delegations from the communist or other parties and movements from 10 European countries are attending the congress.

BCP Sends Greetings

AU2611154189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Nov 89 p 5

[Greeting message from the BCP Central Committee to the 14th RCP Congress, submitted by Yordan Yotov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and leader of Bulgarian delegation, at the afternoon session of the congress in Bucharest on 20 November: "In Line With the Problems Posed by Lfe"]

[Text] Dear comrades, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee extends its most sincere greetings and wishes to the delegates, to all communists, and to the fraternal Romanian people for creative and fruitful work at the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

As communists, we are well aware of the exceptional importance attached to your high party forum for the future of socialist Romania.

We sincerely rejoice at the successes with which you celebrated the 45th anniversary of your country's liberation from fascism a few months ago. This was a great event and a turning point in the history of Romania.

For over four decades, the Romanian people, with their peaceful and creative efforts, have been implmenting the

RCP's strategic line of policy for the construction of socialist society in their country. The years of dynamic and intense socioeconomic development transformed your country. Within a relatively short period Romania, which was a backward agro-industrial country in the past, turned into an industrial-agrarian country endowed with considerable economic, scientific-technical, and cultural potential.

The Bulgarian communists sincerely rejoice at the Romanian people's successes achieved in the revolutionary transformation of your society, and we consider such achievements as a confirmation of the new system's strength.

As an indivisible part of the present dynamic and mutually interconnected world, socialism has now entered a particularly important stage in its development, a stage involving special responsibility. The experience of the communist and workers parties is enriched by active theoretical search and new, practical methods of approach. This is required by the new problems posed by life for which no ready answers exist and by the urgent necessity that socialism should further develop and renew itself.

It is with great attention that we are following the experience of the RCP and your party's views on overall world developments and on the present and future development of socialism, in particular. In this respect we are awaiting the 14th RCP Congress with interest.

We express our resolve to pursue further our active efforts devoted to the development and intensification of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the RCP, in the interest of our peoples' socialist future. We are convinced that with joint efforts we will promote our cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres to a higher level, that we will contribute to the consolidation of detente and security among the states of Europe and the world.

With all our hearts we wish the Romanian communists and all working people in your country new successes in implementing the tasks assigned by the congress for the further development and perfection of socialist society in Romania.

May friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the RCP, between our two countries and peoples further develop and strengthen in the future!

Long live peace and socialism throughout the world!

Berlin Correspondent Notes GDR Events

AU2211161389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 5

[Article by RABOTNICHESKO DELO Berlin correspondent Vladimir Prodanov: "Six Days After 9 November"]

[Excerpts] Berlin, 15 November—In the late hours of 9 November 1989, the GDR Government cut the knot which had entangled the destinies of millions of people both in the GDR and in the FRG for over 28 years, and opened the borders between the two states, between the GDR capital and West Berlin.

A euphoric enthusiasm like a whirlwind swept the GDR citizens off their feet. During the night, from Thursday to Friday, people still could not believe that they could cross the most strongly guarded and most sensitive border in the world without any documents. This is how ½ a million people took a midnight walk through West Berlin. The first word I heard from the majority of them in this unforgetttable night was: "Incredible!"

Some people feared that in view of such an unexpected change of events, things would get out of control. Certain people even "foresaw" heavy border incidents. Nothing of the sort happened, however, and the GDR citiziens demonstrated a mature spirit of discipline and great self-confidence. [passage omitted]

The transformation of the aforementioned borders from dividing into connecting ones should stop the republic's "bleeding." To date over 200,000 GDR citizens have left their country. The first manifestation of democratization in the GDR legislation was the fact that last week the Legal Commission of the People's Chamber rejected the government's draft law on citizens' foreign travel, which had been prepared in advance. The renewal of the party and of GDR society is slowly restoring the confidence of those who turned their backs to the state, even if this will be a difficult process. A considerable number of GDR citizens are expected to return from the FRG. Special hostels are already being prepared in Magdeburg for them, from where they are expected to return soon to their homes and working places, invested again with all the rights of GDR citizens. Initially 5,000 people are expected to be accommodated. [Passage omitted]

Speculation by certain people and circles in the FRG, implying that the processes in the GDR could signify something like a reunification of the two Germanies, are not unexpected these days. Egon Krenz worthily replied to this question. The mayor of West Berlin even reprimanded official Bonn circles for having called this day "a day of meeting," and not a "day of reunion." [passage omitted]

A serious discussion has been recently going on in the GDR about how the new foreign travel law can be linked to providing foreign currency for the travelling citizens. This should be one of the major tasks of the new coalition government headed by Hans Modrow, which is expected to be composed of representatives from all political parties in the GDR and to be approved by parliament on 17 November. For the time being, GDR citizens visiting West Berlin and the FRG mainly count

upon the DM 100 which they are receiving as a "welcome present" from the West German Government, something which the GDR citizens themselves consider unworthy.

The opening of the 23d border checkpoint at the Brandenburg Gate is expected in the next few days. This is how the Berlin Unter den Linden Avenue and the former West Berlin 17 June Boulevard, which was spontaneously renamed 9 November Boulevard, will be connected. On 17 June 1953, with the assistance of subversive centers from West Berlin, advantage was taken of the dissatisfaction manifested by part of the Berlin workers and riots were provoked. Facts of this kind resulted in the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. It has now lost one of its basic functions. It can be freely breached, but it remains a normal border.

Central Committee Sends Greetings to SWAPO

AU2111162589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Telegram from the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee to the South West African People's Organization—date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we convey the most sincere congratulations to you on the occasion of your organization's victory achieved in the elections for a Constituent Assembly.

Thanks to the great courage, heroism, and indomitable will of the Namibian patriots and thanks to the support accorded to them by the international public, an important stage in the struggle for Namibia's national liberation was completed. Today your motherland is facing historical prospects for free and progressive development and for the construction of new life in implementing the democratic program of SWAPO. We are confident that this program will be successfully implemented for the benefit of the long-suffering Namibian people.

We are convinced that SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the future Namibian Government shall promote an active foreign policy aimed at consolidating peace and at expanding international cooperation in accordance with the universal principles of new political thinking.

In congratulating you on the remarkable election victory, which is a victory for the masses, we express our readiness to further pursue the friendly relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and SWAPO and to establish official relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the free and independent state of Namibia.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-17 Nov

AU2611134489

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 10 November through 1600 GMT on 17 November report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

A plenum of the Central Committee of the the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) was held in Sofia on 10 November that relieved Todor Zhivkov from his post of party leader and elected Petur Mladenov in his place as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT, 1830 GMT 10 Nov 89)

A second BCP Central Committee plenum took place in Sofia on 16 November, at which several Politburo members and candidate members and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee were relieved of their posts, and others elected to these bodies. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 89)

The National Assembly held a session in Sofia on 17 November at which Petur Mladenov was elected to replace Todor Zhivkov as chairman of the State Council and numerous other changes approved in the membership of the Council of Ministers and the State Council. Speakers at the session included Petur Mladenov, Georgi Atanasov, and Pencho Kubadinski. (Sofia BTA in English 2140 GMT 17 Nov 89)

Pencho Kubadinski and Dimitur Stanishev took part in a public meeting held in Sofia on 14 November to mark the centenary of Jawaharlal Nehru's birth, at which Kubadinski made a speech. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Petur Mladenov, at the time Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, returned to Sofia from the PRC on 8 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 89 p 5) In Sofia on 10 November he made a speech at the BCP Central Committee plenum that elected him to replace Zhivkov as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 89) In Sofia on 13 November Mladenov chaired a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo that restored the party membership of a number of persons. (Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 13 Nov 89) In Sofia on 14 and 15 November he held meetings with leading Bulgarian intellectuals. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 89) In Sofia on 15 November Mladenov received Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, (Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 15 Nov 89) Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress, (Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 15 Nov 89) and Vladimir Bazovskiy, a friendship society leader from the USSR. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 1)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Sofia on 15 November. (Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 15 Nov 89)

Milko Balev, at the time Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 10 November Milja Komatina, editor in chief of the journal SOCIJALIZAM of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Nov 89 p 6) In Sofia on 14 November he chaired for the last time a meeting of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission. (Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, chaired a meeting in Sofia on 14 November of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions that adopted a declaration in support of the decisions of the 10 November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, signed an economic protocol in Sofia on 15 November with Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 15 Nov 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, at the time candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, held economic talks in Stuttgart on 14 November. (Sofia BTA in English 2252 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia on 15 November with a delegation for Madrid to attend the funeral of Dolores Ibarruri. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 89)

National Front CC Presidium Holds Session

Issues Statement

LD2211161689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] At its regular session in Prague today, the National Front Central Committee Presidium, headed by Chairman Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, discussed the political situation and adopted a statement. It noted that, in the process of restructuring and democratization, which was adopted and is supported by the broad civic public, the National Front has an irreplacable role, which is, above all, to safeguard the realistic participation of citizens in the creation, implementation, and verification of policy. The Presidium, however, identifies with the views of our citizens, namely that the necessary changes are not being implemented consistently enough, that they are not being applied quickly enough and with the necessary efficiency. The solution of all the tasks which are before us can be sought only in a matter-of-fact assessment of actual questions, in an open social dialogue, in discussing alternative proposals, in respecting the views of others.

The events of the past few days demonstrate again that inciting passions, acting under the influence of emotion and unfounded reports, prevents exchange of views, which is the only way to reach general agreement on the main questions and directions of the further socialist development of our homeland.

The National Front Central Committee Presidium, in this connection, discussed in detail the events at the end of 17 November 1989. It expressed regret over the fact that some citizens were injured. It heard a report from the prosecutor general of the Czech Socialist Republic, Jaroslav Krupauer, on starting investigations on the legality and the results of what happened, recommending that this information be speedily published. It stressed the need to deepen the character of Czechoslovakia as a socialist legal state and recommended accelerating preparation of the new bill on the right of assembly, the bill on the right of association, and the new press bill.

Appeals for Civil Responsibility

LD2211220789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium held a session today, chaired by Milos Jakes, its chairman and general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, to discuss the political situation, and it adopted a statement regarding this situation. [passage omitted]

We appeal to all our citizens, young people, mothers, workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, members of political parties, social and hobby organizations, to our entire society:

The most important thing which we now need in order to continue deepening socialist democracy is honest work and civil responsibility. We support businesslike discussion with all citizens of our motherland. We act in a straightforward and prudent fashion.

We appeal to mass media employees to support all steps to calm the situation, to let reason prevail in our society, and to show in this situation political and social responsibility, says the statement by the National Front Central Committee Presidium.

Prosecutor's Office Investigates 17 Nov Events

LD2211205389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] On the basis of a request of the Czech Premier, the General Prosecutor's Office of the Czech SR [Socialist Republic] is investigating the causes that led to the intervention of security organs on 17 November on National Street in Prague and the extent of this intervention.

Events of that day require special attention because they are connected with a number of serious circumstances, the explanation of which will be very complex and demanding. It will be necessary to gather a number of materials and question a large number of witnesses—the questioning will have to be ensured speedily in places of their present stay, including outside Prague.

Thus a special group has been set up in the General Prosecutor's Office in the Czech SR to investigate events. To date a preliminary [words indistinct] extent and number of injured people. It has been definitely and without doubt refuted that in connection with events of 17 November any demonstrating person died. According to results of the investigation so far, during the intervention of security organs 38 demonstrators were injured and needed medical assistance, ten of whom were hospitalized.

Criminal proceedings have been started against only one person, Petr Uhl, for the criminal offense of harming the interests of the Republic abroad and the criminal offense of disseminating alarming news. So far no criminal proceedings have been started against any of the demonstrators, and in particular against any student for the criminal offense of attacking a public official. No other person has been taken into custody. The possible implementation of legal responsibility depends on the results of the reinvestigation of the causes of the events on 17 November and the lawfulness, justification, and appropriate character of security organs.

When investigating these events, the prosecutor's office will proceed from its duty to consistently defend, assert, and implement the principles in harmony with the Constitution and the law, and to wage a decisive struggle against lawlessness.

Rights Official Alleges Police Illegalities

LD2211225989 Prague CTK in English 1922 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 22 (CTK)—"Several phenomena which have occurred in the past few days were called forth by the fact that basic rights of Czechoslovak citizens were not observed in the past", secretary of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation Zbynek Vokrouhlicky has said in an interview for CTK.

"The action of riot police on November 17 did not correspond with the law on the national security corps, i.e. was carried out by entirely unacceptable means and violated basic rights of citizens", Zbynek Vokrouhlicky stressed.

He said that the committee deals with the strict observance of Czechoslovak laws and the Czechoslovak constitution which formulates basic rights and democratic freedoms of citizens.

He positively evaluated the statement of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic and Premier Ladislav Adamec that police will consistently observe laws. He emphasized that the words of the premier were all the more important since it is his task as a constitutional official to ensure health of all citizens and public order.

Zbynek Vokrouhlicky added that "taking place in the world are also demonstrations which turn to vandalism and then it is the task of state bodies to ensure order. This cannot, however, concern peaceful and spontaneous demonstrations."

Asked about the legislative procedure during debates on the bill on the right to association and assembly which was handed over to the premier on November 10, Zbynek Vokrouhlicky replied that the present legal norms do not comply with present social practice.

"In our opinion, the principles which we propose are modern and keep up the international standard as it is embodied in international agreements. We want the process of approval to be as democratic as possible. It should be democratically discussed in social organizations, the broadest strata and at the end of the legislative process it should express the will of all Czechoslovak people. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Radio Employees Issue Statement on Situation

LD2211225489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] CSSR radio employees who are members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] took a stand today at their meeting in Prague on the present situation. They welcomed a decision by the federal premier on the general prosecutor's investigation of the circumstances of an incident which occured at Narodni Trida Avenue in Prague on 17 November.

They decisively reject the creation of anticommunist attitudes in our society and at the same time demand that the CPCZ leadership speedily tackles the present situation in our country. In this context, the Communists who are CSSR radio employees announce that they dissociate themselves from a statement by a group of CSSR Radio employees which was published today in SVOBODNE SLOVO.

Groups Issue Statements on 17 Nov Events Impact

LD2211232589 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 22 (CTK)—The Union of Czech Writers today voiced concern about the polarization of social classes and strata which threatens to change into a serious conflict and damage spiritual and material values of our nations for many years.

In its statement on the events of November 17 and the present situation, discussed and adopted at an extraordinary meeting here today, the union pointed out that the brutal action of riot police against a peaceful demonstration of students discredited, in the eyes of the Czechoslovak and foreign public, the policy of the present leadership of the party and state, the policy of restructuring and democratization of society.

"We support demands that persons who gave order to this nonsensical action should account for it and should be recalled from their posts. At the same time we demand that legitimate measures be taken that would not allow the misuse of force, the statement stressed. [no end quote marks as received]

Members of the Czech Philharmonic joined the protest against the brutality which has been used already several times since the beginning of this year.

"We raise our voice as there are no guarantees that similar violent actions will not repeat. In protest against cruel realities we break off all our concert activity. We fully support the statement and demands of Prague students, actors of Prague theatres, members of the Union of Composers and Concert Artists, including the statement of the Civil Forum of these days", the Czech Philharmonic stated.

Employees of the Secretariat of the Federal Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters said in their statement today that no problems can be solved by street demonstrations linked with provocations. In such conditions, no sensible dialogue can be conducted, they stressed.

"We condemn the appeal for a general strike which can result only in losses and general chaos and thus threaten started restructuring and democratization of our society", the statement said.

"Teachers of the Komarovova-Zahradni Mesto Basic School discussed the seriousness of the situation in the capital. We condemn all attempts and appeals for strikes and other imprudent steps and fully support the statement of the Czech and Czechoslovak Governments as well as yesterday's speech of Milos Jakes".

Representative of the strike committee of the Philosophical faculty of Charles University Vlastimil Jezek has told CTK that students demand "the formation of a government commission composed of representatives of students' and civic activities which will inquire into all circumstances of Friday's events, name those guilty and hand over an objective report to the bodies of the Ministry of Justice and the Czechoslovak public. We demand that people responsible for the present social and political crisis resign".

CPCZ Extraordinary Session Opens 24 Nov

Defense Minister Vaclavik Speaks

LD2411170889 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Milan Vaclavik held speech [as received] at this morning's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee which opened here today.

His appearance disproved convincingly a report by the French Press Agency "AFP" saying he had been hospitalized this morning after "taking an overdose of medicines".

Jakes Speech to CPCZ

LD2411184589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee held in the building of the Political College of the Party Central Committee is continuing its debate at present. The drafting, election and press commissions are also at work.

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, delivered a report this morning from the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the current political situation in Czechoslovakia.

In opening his speech he said that the extraordinary session of the party Central Committee is meeting in an extremely tense situation. For a week now our capital has been living in a feverish atmosphere accompanied by large demonstrations. Gradually the tension has also spread to other places in the republic.

It is necessary to say frankly that our country has found itself at a crossroads of destiny. It is necessary to examine responsibly the situation that has arisen, draw the necessary conclusions, and galvanize the whole party. We must assess our activity self-critically. Since the seventh session of the party Central Committee we have been concentrating in the first place on the economic reform and the democratization of the life of our society, Milos Jakes continued. We did not conceal that restructuring was a new process in the realization of which we shall have to seek new paths and, on more than one occasion, to define more accurately the line and course of action and that we may commit mistakes, inaccuracies, and errors. We said frankly that we were taking only first steps and that this was the beginning of a difficult journey. In choosing the pace of fundamental changes we have been led by the desire to avoid jeopardizing economic and social stability while carrying out the necessary changes. We also relied too heavily on the consolidation of our society and at the same time allowed the pace of restructuring to slacken despite the fact that there existed here serious warning signals and that criticism of inertia in the implementation of the resolutions adopted was mounting, Milos Jakes said.

The public has justly gained the impression that our restructuring was accompanied and is being accompanied by many great words without the necessary action. The party Central Committee Presidium, continued Milos Jakes, has not intervened in this development in time and with necessary impact—this has been reducing trust both within the party and society. The Presidium put forward these questions at its session but they were not tackled consistently.

We did not appreciate duly the processes under way in Poland, Hungary, and, above all, in the last period in the GDR and their impact and influence on our society, stated Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in his report. He went on to say that the situation which we face today is serious. However, we are convinced that it is not at a deadlock. It is possible to solve it but under the condition that the party begins a counter-offensive and shows the capability to win over the majority of the workers, including youth, through the party's reliable and sensible attitude. It will be a complicated process.

The overwhelming majority of our workers understand that our future is being decided only and exclusively by active work, initiative, and enterprise. Disturbances, chaos, any even short-term strikes if they affect workplaces, have long-range consequences, said Milos Jakes. They would lead to destabilizing our national economy, causing disruption in production, transportation and above all the market place.

Those who at all costs wish to organize a general strike on Monday as well as those who are liable to pressures should realize what can be the consequences of it all, what losses can be caused by it. The losses involved are not only economic ones, said Comrade Jakes.

Later in his speech, he went on to characterize the development of the events this November and said that they have disclosed in wider context the weak points in

our attitude toward social reforms. This pressure and urgency is totally evident. On the other side we must be seriously worried by the patently antisocialist activities of certain social groups. They put forward the demands to change the social system in our country. In the last few days a lot of abuse has been addressed to the Communist Party from squares and streets—there have even been voices calling for physical liquidation of Communists, said Milos Jakes. We witnessed insults and abuse directed at our ideals—voiced by people who at the same time shield themselves with phrases about democracy.

The party Central Committee general secretary critically pointed out that these pressure actions have been also organized in some mass media intending to stir up society, increase tension, and spread uncertainty.

We are in favor of a dialogue based not exclusively on ultimatums, emotions, and passions—but on reason, stressed Milos Jakes. We are in favor of securing peace and order through political means. We believe that in this context we will find all-round support.

The current political situation resulted in an open struggle for political power in our state, for our socialist development in future. As we have already stressed, noted the party Central Committee general secretary, the CPCZ will tackle the situation, which has developed, within the framework of the Czechoslovak Constitution and valid laws.

Should the interests of socialist society, the security and property of citizens be endangered these legal means must be used.

Milos Jakes then went on to once again to take a stand on the appeal for a general strike, spoke in favor of the full resumption of teaching in schools and of the normal functioning of cultural and sport facilities. He appealed to Communists and workers in the media. We appeal to them, Milos Jakes said, to be conscious of their responsibility. He called on them to exert their influence in editorial collectives to ensure that these media carry truthful information and that they commit themselves in the spirit of the policy of the party and the National Front.

Later in his speech Milos Jakes summed up the most important conditions of the further development of our socialist society. He described as the basic premise the existence of a modern socialist legal state with which the submission soon of a draft of the Constitution is closely connected. Laws on assembly, association, and the rights to petition, as well as a law on the youth and on family, are to be debated in the Federal Assembly as soon as possible. We also proceed from the premise that every citizen has the right to travel abroad and return freely. In the future a valid passport as the sole travel document must be sufficient.

The draft of the new bill on institutions of higher learning should be debated again in the collectives of institutions of higher learning, the organizations of the Socialist Union of Youth at these institutions so that their standpoints could be asserted and included in the bill. We recommend the speedy adoption of an amendment to the Defense Law and, in its application, implementation of already published proposals on the reduction of military service. It is also necessary to discuss speedily the draft of the new election law. We have given an impetus for the preparation of a new press law. We propose that judges of the Constitutional Court be elected by 1 January next year and that the Constitutional Court begins work from that date. Administrative judiciary, too, will begin its activity.

Proceeding from the historic development we support a further development of the National Front as the basis of our political system. Its governments are the Federal Government and national governments, which ought to be reflected also in a greater representation of the other political parties as well as the non-party people in their composition. We are prepared to open at all levels an open dialogue with various initiatives with the intention that this dialogue will contribute to the application of all that is good and which contributes to the development of our socialist society. We regard the dialogue as one of the basic norms in the process of democratization. We expect concrete proposals from national governments for the full development of local self- administration by way of national committees.

We recommend the strengthening of the supervisory activity of the Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Council. Regarding the social and economic development, the prime task is to secure thoroughly the economic reform and the decisions adopted on the restructuring of the economic mechanism. We have accelerated this process markedly by the introduction of the new economic rules from 1 January next year.

The tasks which we are tackling are closely linked to the general international situation around us, especially in Europe. At the center of attention of our foreign political activity are questions of European security and cooperation.

The stances of our party, National Front and government are expressed in a concentrated form in the documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states which support decisive impulses for favorable international development. We fully support further development of cooperation involving two or more sides within the CEMA framework. At present, the most pressing task is to increase substantially the capability of action, and strengthen the unity of the party based on the trust and support of workers.

This depends above all on correct placing of capable, energetic cadres, in further rejuvenation and improvement of the quality of party organs, above all the Central Committee and its Presidium. We, who are the bearers of the supreme responsibility, have to do everything to

be able to look without shame to the eyes of the Communists and all citizens. We must not mark time, waste time. We have to work with the highest standard of responsibility, achieve calming down the atmosphere of our society, create conditions for further development of socialism, said Milos Jakes at the end of his speech.

After the report was delivered, discussion began during which comrades stressed above all the seriousness of the current internal political situation, critically assessed the work of the party's leadership in current complicated conditions, and demanded that cadre changes are carried out and the course of action to be taken by the party in the near future be prepared.

Jakes, Leadership Resign

LD2411185489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1832 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Now with an up-to-the-minute report is our correspondent in the studio.

[Correspondent] Yes, the news is that at 1900 Comrade Milos Jakes asked to speak. He informed the Central Committee that he personally and the other members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee have agreed that they are giving up their posts so that a new party leadership can be elected. He thanked the Central Committee for the support which it has given to the present leadership.

He voiced the conviction that the newly elected party organs would contribute to ensuring that the process of restructuring and democratization is carried out more resolutely.

Cadre Proposals to be Discussed

LD2411185889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] During this evening's session the cadre proposals will be discussed. They will be presented by the election commission. Then a secret ballot will take place.

More than 30 members and candidates of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee have still to speak in the debate.

Session Speakers Urge Cadre Changes

LD2411190789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] In the introduction of today's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee in the building of the Higher Political College of the party Central Committee in Prague, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered a report of the Presidium of the Central Committee on the current political situation in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Then a discussion opened in which in the morning those taking the floor critically assessed the work of the party leadership in today's complicated conditions and voiced a demand that cadre changes be carried out and that the action course of the party for the coming period be prepared.

In the afternoon part of the discussion the following comrades spoke:

Lumir Hanak, editor in charge of the journal WORLD MARXIST REVIEW; Jan Kozak, writer;
Miroslav Stepan, chief secretary of the Party City Committee in Prague;
Ondrej Saling, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee;
Ludmila Krizova, worker from a district enterprise of local management in Trebic;
Frantisek Pitra, Czech premier;
Justina Radimska, worker from the Ulany Neratovice;
Jiri Bruckner, smelter from Poldy Kladno electric steel works;
Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee;
Jirina Bartackova, worker from CKD Semiconductors Prague;
Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense; and Lubomir Strougal.

The afternoon discussion has been also continuing in the open and critical spirit which corresponds to the current complicated situation.

Urbanek Elected General Secretary

LD2411211689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2102 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Comrade Milos Jakes asked to speak at 1800 GMT at the emergency session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee today in Prague. [passage omitted]

The party Central Committee unanimously approved the resignation of Comrade Milos Jakes as CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and that of the other members and candidate members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In a secret ballot, Comrade Karel Urbanek was elected the new general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Further on Urbanek Election

LD2411230989 Prague Television Service in Czech 2235 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] As we have already reported in an unscheduled news bulletin this evening, the party Central Committee's emergency session today unanimously approved the resignation of Comrade Milos Jakes from the post of general secretary of the party Central Committee and

that of the other members and candidate members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the party Central Committee.

The new Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee general secretary is Comrade Karel Urbanek, who was elected in a secret ballot.

Of the ballots cast, 136 members of the CPCZ Central Committee voted for Urbanek and 7 voted against. [passage omitted]

The CPCZ Central Committee session is still in progress at this moment. Forty-four comrades have spoken in the debate. At 2200 GMT, the Central Committee began to discuss the candidates for the new Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. A news conference is also being prepared for journalists, but when it takes place depends on what time the session ends. We are, of course, on the spot. If it takes place in the next few minutes, we will report it, but if it occurs late in the night, we will return to it during tomorrow morning's broadcasts.

Speakers at Evening Session

LD2511003389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2250 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The following comrades spoke during the evening session of the proceedings [of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on 24 November]: Zdenek Hlozek, director of the research and production organization Tvareci Technika Brno; Miloslav Dockal, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic; Josef Jung; Bohuslav Chnoupek; Vaclav David; Karel Mracek, chairman of the unified agricultural cooperative Novy Zivot of the Klatovy district; Vlastimil Ehrenberger, Czechoslovak ambassador to Hungary; and Antonin Kapek.

Forty-four comrades have spoke in the debate at the extraordinary session of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Presidium, Secretariat Members

LD2511022689 Prague CTK in English 0149 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 24 (CTK)—The following members of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee were elected by secret ballot today:

Karel Urbanek, Josef Cizek—chairman of the cooperative farm at Chelcice, Miroslav Huscava—foreman at the Vokd Ostrava-Karvina mines in Karvina, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, Miroslav Zajic, Miroslav Zavadil;

Alternate members of the Presidium: Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Miroslava Nemcova, Ondrej Saling.

Secretaries of the Central Committee:

Karel Urbanek—general secretary, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Zajic, Frantisek Hanus, Otto Liska.

Members of the Secretariat:

Karel Urbanek, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Zajic, Frantisek Hanus, Otto Liska, Zdenek Horeni, Josef Mevald, Vasil Mohorita.

The candidates were presented to the session by General Secretary Karel Urbanek.

The Central Committee unanimously approved a resolution. In conclusion the session was addressed by the new general secretary. The Central Committee ended its session.

'Urgent Measures' Approved

LD2511030389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee's emergency session unanimously approved the resignation of Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee, and that of the other members and candidate members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Central Committee. Comrade Karel Urbanek was elected new general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Comrade Karel Urbanek presented the cadre proposals for the composition of the Presidium and Secretariat of the party Central Committee, and for the Central Committee secretaries. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee unanimously approved a resolution. At the end of the session, a speech was made by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The emergency session of the party Central Committee ended with the Internationale shortly before 0200 [0100 GMT].

At its emergency session on 24 November 1989, the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the current situation in the country. Society finds itself in a crisis. Any further escalation of tension threatens socialism in our country. The party and state leadership failed to cope with this situation.

It went on to approve that standpoint, and the following urgent measures:

1. To convene a session of the CPCZ Central Committee by mid-December 1989 at the latest to adopt a program for the party's course of action up to the 18th congress. This program must give a specific response to the urgent questions of renewing socialism and the restructuring of the political, economic, and all other spheres of social life.

2. It calls on the relevant bodies to ensure that force is not used to deal with current social problems, as long as there is no threat to the life and health of the people, or to property, and as long as the foundations of socialism

are not being undermined. At the same time, it voices support for the state organs that protect socialist legality, order, and the vital certainties of the people.

3. It expresses regret at the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague. The intervention must be deemed a political mistake. A thorough investigation of the intervention is demanded, and responsibility must be established.

4. The CPCZ will begin a factual dialogue with all those who respect the CSSR Constitution. Through this dialogue, it intends to contribute to restoring trust in the party and its policy.

5. It appeals for full cooperation and coresponsibility of all citizens, members of political parties, and social and interest-based organizations of the National Front, young people, and women—of everyone, regardless of their convictions and religious beliefs, of those who care about the future of our country.

6. It recommends that the Governments of the CSSR, the Czech socialist republic and the Slovak socialist republic be reformed to include wider participation of representatives of other political parties and those with no party affiliation. It recommends that a grouping of political parties and the most important social organization be set up with equal rights within the National Front, and that this grouping be entrusted with preparing democratic elections to the national committees and representative bodies.

7. It recommends that the draft new Constitution, the bills on assembly, association, and the right to organize petitions, the bill on young people and the family, the bill on universities, and the new press bill be submitted promptly for public discussion, and that the defense law be amended.

8. It does not consider protest demonstrations and strikes as an appropriate way to tackle social problems. It relies on civic common sense, wisdom, and experience of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, and all citizens, and a level-headed approach by workers and students.

9. We continue to consider friendship, alliance, and cooperation with the Soviet Union as the basic international guarantee of our country's socialist development, security, and sovereignty. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic remains a firm and active member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The CPCZ Central Committee urgently appeals to all communist and party bodies and organizations to unite and support the Central Committee and the newly elected party leadership and to act resolutely in the spirit of this resolution.

The CPCZ Central Committee appeals to all of society with the conviction that it will receive the conclusions of the emergency session with understanding and will give them full support.

Urbanek Closes Session

LD2511031689 Prague CTK in English 0249 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Karel Urbanek in his closing speech at the Central Committee extraordinary session said here today:

"We must act so that we prove convincingly to the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and all citizens the sincerity of the party's efforts for restructuring and democratization in the economic and social spheres. In a complex approach to restructuring, the current events clearly underline the necessity of faster progress of political reforms. Overcoming of the current tense situation in our country can be reached only by political solution. The main task is to bring our society, mainly the capital of Prague, to a normal life, daily creative and constructive work. Even in future, the basis of our foreign political orientation will remain the all-round development of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We are for good contacts and mutually advantageous cooperation with all other states."

In conclusion, Karel Urbanek thanked Comrade Milos Jakes for the work he had done as party Central Committee general secretary and all other comrades leaving the Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat for their cooperation.

Prague Radio Reports Urbanek Speech

LD2511041489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, made a closing speech at the emergency session of the party Central Committee, in which he voiced thanks for the trust placed in the new party and society. He stressed that it is only through the collective efforts of the whole Presidium and the whole Central Committee that the party can truly be set in motion and be armed for the current political struggle in order to restore trust in our policy.

He pointed out that the current events have brought to the fore the need for faster progress in political reform and stressed that the current tense situation in our country can only be surmounted through a political solution.

Comrade Karel Urbanek said that the main task is to bring back to our society and especially to Prague as quickly as possible normal living conditions and day-to-day creative and constructive work.

More on Urbanek Concluding Speech

LD2511102489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, spoke at the conclusion of the extraordinary session of the CPCZ Central Committee. On behalf of the entire Presidium and Secretariat of the party's Central Committee, he voiced appreciation for the trust shown them by members of the Central Committee who had elected them.

I am aware of the responsibility, he went on to say, which I am taking on, especially during this period, which is critical for our party and society. He noted that an individual alone can achieve nothing, and that only through the collective efforts of the entire Presidium and Central Committee is it possible to set the party into true, active motion and arm it for the current political struggle for the restoration of trust in our policy. [passage omitted]

Comrade Karel Urbanek then thanked Milos Jakes for his work as CPCZ general secretary in this difficult period. He also thanked all other comrades who were at that time leaving the Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat for their cooperation, namely those who had done a lot of work in high party posts for our party and society: Comrades Gustav Husak, Alois Indra, Ladislav Academic, Jan Fojtik, and Karel Hoffmann.

He appealed to the newly elected members and candidate members of the Presidium and members of the Secretariat as well as members of the CPCZ Control and Audit Commission for their support and help. Let us be united, for this is, in particular, required by the present time. It is literally of vital importance for our party, and for socialism in our country, emphasized Comrade Urbanek in concluding his speech.

Horeni Holds News Conference

LD2511131989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The mass conference at the end of the special session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee [CPCZ CC] was addressed by Zdenek Horeni, member of the Secretariat of the party's Central Committee, editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO. You can now listen to his address:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, esteemed friends, allow me, as has already been announced, to open the news conference at the conclusion of a special session of the CPCZ Central Committee. I welcome Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO, organ of the CPCZ, and Comrade Jan Risko, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists Central Committee. I would like to praise the fact that you have met in such large numbers at this late hour, which is evidence of the enormous interest in the results of the plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which has just ended. I would not like to waste your precious time and am therefore asking Comrade Horeni to deliver the basic information on the conclusions of the completed session.

[Horeni] Esteemed colleagues, I do not now how to greet you, whether with good evening or good morning. At any rate, in my life as a journalist this is my first news conference in which I am taking part at 3 o'clock in the morning. I apologize that we have left you waiting so long. The Central Committee session ended before 2 o'clock in the morning. It was an extraordinary session both as to temporal circumstances and questions which it tackled. [passage omitted]

In tackling or assessing the ways out of this given situation it has been stressed that it must be a political solution in harmony with the Constitution of our socialist state carried out by means of a social dialogue within the framework of the National Front, as well as outside the framework of the National Front. Allow me now to give you some details:

The present general secretary, Milos Jakes, has resigned, on his own request; president of the republic, Gustav Husak, has resigned from his party post, who will, however, continue to hold his state post. Alois Indra has resigned from his party post; he continues to hold the post of chairman of parliament. Karel Hoffmann has resigned from the post of presidium member and secretary of the Central Committee. Ladislav Adamec, Presidium member, has resigned and asked to be relieved of his party but also of his government post as may be understood from the negotiation of the Presidium, from the session of the Central Committee. He did so in writing on the 30 October.

Personalities who hold other, non-party, posts have not been included in the new party organ. I should say they have not been included because we will try to prevent doubling of posts. This concerns Frantisek Pitra, Czech premier, Pavel Hrivnak, Slovak premier, and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Physical Education, Polednik. I forgot to mention that not included in the new composition of the Central Committee Presidium is the current member of this organ and secretary, Jan Fojtik. Leaving the Central Committee Secretariat in connection with his retirement is Rudolf Rohlicek. To summarize, out of 11 members of the Presidium, seven are leaving. Out of three candidate members of the Presidium, one candidate is leaving and two members are leaving the Central Committee Secretariat; this is the organizational organ. If we count the members of the Presidium and Secretariat, so far they had 22 members. Out of this number 10 personalities have left these party organs, for various reasons.

The Central Committee, naturally, voiced its opinion as to the question of the strike and said that it does not

consider protest demonstrations or strikes a suitable means of solving social problems. It stressed it relies on citizens' prudence, wisdom, and experience of the working class, agricultural cooperative farmers, intelligence of all citizens, as well as the considerate approach of working and studying young people. I have acquainted you with the basic ideas of the resolution which was adopted before 2 o'clock and which will be right now fully published by CTK. [end recording]

You have heard an address of member of the secretariat of the party's Central Committee, editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO, Zdenek Horeni, at a news conference following a special session of the CPCZ Central Committee, organized for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. Comrade Horeni also answered questions of foreign correspondents with which we will acquaint you during our subsequent broadcasts.

Janak Radio Speech, CPSL CC To Meet 26 Nov

LD2511222489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Radio Address by Ignac Janak, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL), on 25 November,—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades, dear young friends, students:

Our society is in a serious, a crisis situation. It is clear to us now that though the CPCZ adopted a program of restructuring and democratization of our socialist society, the changes did not take place and the results were not achieved which our public rightly expected. We did not succeed in creating the necessary atmosphere of openness and trust in all spheres of life, the necessary space for real constructive dialogue with citizens. This has led to growing tension and to a great social move. A wide civic movement, internally differentiated both politically and in its views has been formed.

Our Communist Party, all its courageous officials and members, as well as I personally, support the forces that strive to tackle the serious political, economic, social, spiritual, cultural, and moral problems that have accumulated, on the platform of the renewal of socialism, patriotism, honest work, and universaly valid values.

A part of the deep renewal of socialism and its important condition is to dissociate on principle from all deformations of socialism, from all faults and shortcomings—which unfortunately we have failed to avoid. We offer our hand to everybody who wants to share together with us honestly and sincerely in democratic solution of the current dramatic social and political crisis, to contribute toward socialism showing itself in our motherland to be a dynamic, effective, human, and attractive social system.

Our party will strive with all its strength for a Czechoslovakia of satisfied and happy people.

We are against the return of a bourgeois democracy, against the imitation of prescriptions made out of date by history. We are for the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

We appeal to you—esteemed fellow citizens, you—comrades, you—young friends and students, let us join all our forces in the interest of a happy life for today as well as for future generations of our motherland.

It is impossible to postpone necessary, energetic, and effective steps to cope with the unusual problematic situation, which has been dramatically aggravated.

That is why we convened for tomorrow [26 November] a session of the CPSL Central Committee.

We will intensify a wide social dialogue. We must jointly find constructive ways out which are of benefit to our people, working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, nation, and ethnic minorities. It is demanded by our supreme responsibility in the face of our present time and history.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Opens 26 Nov

Urbanek Opens CC Session

LD2611191889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] We received a report a few moments ago stating that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has convened this evening for its session. On the agenda is a proposal to convene an extraordinary party congress, and cadre issues. The session was opened by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

Urbanek Addresses CC

LD2611225889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee started in Prague this evening. Comrade Karel Urbanek, in a report at the Presidium, dealt with the present situation in the party and society. He submitted proposals for the cadre composition of Central Committee organs and for the convocation of an extraordinary CPCZ congress.

In opening, Comrade Urbanek stressed that the course of events and the precipitious development of the political situation in our society therefore require another extraordinary Central Committee session.

When assessing the past work of the party, he said that it has emerged how little was known of the real stands of rank and file members and that full attention has not

been paid to them, despite the discussion at the previous session which hinted at a considerable polarity of views among the party ranks.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee went on to submit a proposal on behalf of the Central Committee Presidium, in line with the opinion of many organs and primary party organizations, to convene an extraordinary congress of the CPCZ for 26 January 1990.

We regard this as an essential necessity in the interest of strengthening party unity, its capability to act, and to mobilize its forces in the current period. The primary goal of the congress deliberation is to form anew the highest party organs. It is necessary that they are composed of comrades who have the confidence of the membership base, who are closely linked with it, and who are now willing to fight for the ideals of the party, for socialism, for the interests of the socialist homeland, and for its people. The election of delegates will take place at meetings of regional party conferences.

The extraordinary congress should assess the situation in the country and approve a specific action program up to the 18th CPCZ Congress. As far as the ordinary congress is concerned, we anticipate its convening at the date already set [10 May 1990].

Comrade Urbanek went on to announce that in line with the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government extraordinary session, a dialogue has begun with political parties, the Club for Socialist Restructuring, Renewal, and representatives of the Civic Forum. The meetings have demonstrated unequivocally that the dialogue with them is possible and necessary in the current period. The Civic Forum is today a reality. Therefore, talks with these groups in order to seek joint ways out is the only course in the current tense situation.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee recommended the creation, alongside the National Front, and on an open basis, of a broad political coalition, an equal grouping of political parties, and key social organizations and other civic associations whose concern is socialism.

This political group should also be implemented at the level of republics, regions, districts, and localities. He also recommended the immediate discussion, at the created coalition platform, of proposals for the reconstruction of governments. The task is for political parties and non-party members to be represented in governments.

Comrade Urbanek then stressed that the fulfillment of topical tasks requires a thorough and criticial assessment of ideological influence both inside and outside the party.

At the end of the report he stressed that the present session is expected to be another step on the path of our society's restructuring, a step on an uneasy path, in a very difficult period for the party. He stressed the fact that we must solve our problems ourselves, but that experiences from restructuring in socialist countries are extremely valuable because they will make it possible for us to avoid errors and mistakes.

After the report an extensive discussion began on previously submitted proposals and on other proposals submitted during the discussion. A secret ballot was then held.

Comrade Miroslav Zajic reported on the approach of a CPCZ Central Committee delegation at a meeting with representatives of the club for socialist restructuring, Obroda [Renewal].

Comrade Miroslava Nemcova reported on the deliberations of a delegation of the National Front Central Committee and the federal government with representatives of the Civic Forum.

We will give you further information as it arrives.

CC Calls for New Interior Minister

LD2711012289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has met in Prague at an extraordinary session. [passage omitted]

Comrade Karel Urbanek noted that the session Friday adopted a clear stand on events on 17 november and the Central Committee Presidium now asks comrades Adamec and Pitra to submit a proposal for a change in posts in the federal minister of interior and the minister of interior and environment of the Czech Socialist Republic.

In a debate participants supported the proposal to convene an extraordinary congress and steps toward a dialogue in the society, and expressed their views on the present situation.

We have not yet received a report on the result of the secret ballot.

CC Releases 6 Members

LD2711022189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee at its extraordinary session approved cadre changes:

Further members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party were elected: Bretislav Benda, Hana Kozesnikova, Antonin Maly, Vasil Mohorita, Valeria Petrincova, Undrej Saling, and Miroslav Valek.

Secretaries and members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party were elected: Comrades Vasil

Mohorita and Ondrej Saling, who was released from the post of candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Then it released from posts Comrades Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, Miroslav Zavadil, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, and Jan Fojtik.

The session still continues with a debate at present.

Further on CC Personnel Changes

LD2711032689 Prague CTK in English 0154 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee decided at its session here today to promote Jirina Bartackova, Bretislav Benda, Kvetoslava Kovarova, Mikulas Litvak, Jan Lukacik, Zdenek Nemec, Jan Thies and Frantisek Tyser from candidates to full members of the party Central Committee.

Bretislav Benda, Hana Kozesnikova, Antonin Mlady, Vasil Mohorita, Valeria Petrincova, Ondrej Saling and Miroslav Valek were elected membes of the Communist Party Presidium.

Vasil Mohorita and Ondrej Saling were elected secretaries and members of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The Central Committee relieved:

Jozef Lenart from his function of member of the party Presidium and Secretariat, Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Central Committee commission for foreign politics,

Miroslav Stepan from his function of Presidium member and chairman of the Central Committee commission for questions of culture and art,

Also approved was Miroslav Stepan's resignation from the post of head secretary of the Prague party city committee,

Miroslav Zavadil from his function of Presidium members and chairman of the Central Committee commission for social policy,

Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman and Ondrej Saling from their posts of Presidium alternate members,

Jan Fojtik from the function of chairman of the Central Committee ideological commission and chairman of the Central Committee commission for education.

Deputy head of a Central Committee department Josef Hora told a news conference which opened at 2.00 a.m. local time that the session still continues with a debate, characterizing it as principled and responsible.

Extraordinary Party Congress 26 Jan

LD2711094589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, which ended in Prague in the early hours of this morning, has decided to convene an extraordinary party congress for 26 January next year.

In the resolution adopted at the end of this extraordinary session, the Central Committee approved the report delivered by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Commitee. It empowered its Presidium to deal between the Central Committee's meetings operatively with necessary cadre issues.

The CPCZ Central Committee has appealed to all personnel, and in particular Communists in the media, to give truthful and objective information about the viewpoints of work collectives and citizens from all sectors of the life of our society.

CTK Lists Presidium, Secretariat

LD2711115189 Prague CTK in English 1129 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Following is a list of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium members:

Karel Urbanek, Bretislav Benda, Josef Cizek, Miroslav Huscava, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Hana Kozesnikova, Antonin Mlady, Vasil Mohorita, Valeria Petrincova, Ondrej Saling, Miroslav Valek and Miroslav Zajic.

Alternate member of the Presidium—Miroslava Nemcova.

Members of the party Central Committee Secretariat: Karel Urbanek, Ivan Knotek, Vasil Mohorita, Ondrej Saling, Miroslav Zajic, Frantisek Hanus, Otto Liska, Zdenek Horeni and Josef Mevald.

CPCZ, CPSL Committees Hold Emergency Sessions

LD2611105989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committees held emergency sessions yesterday: North Bohemian, West Bohemian, East Bohemian, North Moravian, East Slovakian and Central Slovakian.

The participants in these sessions expressed support for Karel Urbanek, the newly elected general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. They expressed the conviction that a resolution adopted at the emergency session of the party Central Committee would lead to strengthening the unity of the party and renewing its capability of action and continuation of the restructuring of economic and social life.

Regional Conferences To Precede CPCZ Congress

LD2711121889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee at its extraordinary session today decided to convene an extraordinary party congress for 26 January next year. [passage omitted]

The meeting also determined the manner in which delegates to this extraordinary congress will be elected. They will be elected at extraordinary regional conferences and city conferences in Prague and Bratislava which will be held by 7 January. [passage omitted]

Regarding the recommendation to recall the Federal Minister of the Interior and the Czech Minister of the Interior and the Environment it has proposed, following the submissions made by both ministers at the Central Committee session, to draw the conclusion in this matter on the basis of an investigation of the matter by a parliamentary commissions in which students' representatives would be represented.

The Central Committee furthermore took note of a report on the dialogue with representatives of "Renewal" and the Civic Forum, which is to be continued.

Government Holds Extraordinary Plenary Session

LD2511133289 Prague CTK in English 1220 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Government met for an extraordinary plenary session today to discuss the results of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee special session.

Adamec Still Prime Minister

LD2511175389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1625 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] At a news conference following the federal government's session, Miroslav Pavel, the head of the press department of the Office of the Presidium of the federal government, answered questions put to him by journalists concerning the person of Ladislav Adamec, federal prime minister.

[Begin Pavel recording] Allow me now to speak about those two questions concerning the resignation of the prime minister. It is necessary to distinguish very precisely between the speech delivered by the prime minister at yesterday's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, his speech as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and a member of the party Central Committee, and between the act of resignation from the viewpoint of the the CSSR Constitution. I would like to assure that Comrade Adamec continues to remain the federal prime minister in accordance with the Constitution pending a further political decision.

It is of course true that Comrade Adamec in his speech at yesterday's session of the CPCZ Central Committee declared that he wanted to resign from his post as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal prime minister. He said, among other things, that that decision did not originate as he delivered his speech at the CPCZ Central Committee session nor does it arise from personal reasons. It is the outcome of his disagreement with the slow pace of restructuring in Czechoslovakia. This decision is based on two letters, which he sent to Comrade Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, last June and October and in which he drew his attention to his disagreement with the slow pace of restructuring in Czechoslovakia. He expressed his disagreement not only in these two letters and not only at the last session of the party Central Committee but he voiced it many times quite publicly in various speeches in which he pointed at the need for an accord between economic and political reform. The last time he did so was in his winding up speech during the meeting of the CSSR Federal Assembly. As you probably recall certain media censored his words and did not publish them as they were delivered, which in the history of the Czechoslovak legislature was an unprecedented occurence.

I would also like to say that Comrade Adamec was offered membership in the newly constituted Presidium of the party Central Committee, but he declined the offer.

This all happened last night or during the early morning hours today. This means that it is necessary to wait and see how the situation will develop further. I think I can say quite unequivocally that he has continuously tried to ensure that all social problems in Czechoslovakia are tackled by the corresponding political methods. He sometime found unconventional solutions for which he was the source of criticism on the part of other political representatives. Despite this he went along that road and I think that he is the man who is prepared to work for the good of this society up to his last ounce of strength. [end recording]

Adamec Summarizes Meeting

LD2511181589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1622 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by Rudolf Erhard from the Federal Government Presidium in Prague on 25 November—recorded]

[Text] [Erhard] The CSSR Government met today for an emergency plenary session to discuss the resolution adopted at the last session of the CPCZ Central Committee and take a stand on the current political situation. Could you, Comrade Premier, tell me what measures the government adopted?

[Adamec] First, to recommend to the Central Committee of the National Front to put forward speedily to the president of the Republic proposals regarding the

joining of the government by representatives of other political parties and non-party members.

Second, it appointed its representatives, ministers and deputy premier, to begin immediately talks with representatives of the students who are on strike.

Third, it asked the CSSR interior minister to act in agreement with the interior and environment minister of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and for the period of the investigation of the intervention by the forces of order enforcement on 17 November 1989 by the General Prosecutor's Offices of Czechoslovakia and the Czech SR to suspend the commander of the intervention action.

Fourth, the government recommended to the CSSR president to halt criminal proceedings and possibly grant amnesty to citizens for all crimes against the social and state system.

Fifth, the government decided to speed up the work on the drafts of the new Constitution, laws on rights of gathering, association and petitioning, press law and law on compulsory military service and put them forward for public discussion at the latest by the end of this year. It recommended to the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth to put forward as quickly as possible a draft of the law on youth.

The government in the content of the calls for a general strike appeals to fellow-citizens to assess responsibility and personally the strike's consequences so that the caused damage is as small as possible and does not disrupt normal everyday life.

[Erhard] Citizens demonstrating in Prague have indicated that you have their full trust. Do you think you might speak at any of the rallies?

[Adamec] I do not avoid speaking. I prefer speaking on specific topics at such places where smaller collectives are—but if the conditions are to be created to give the dialogue a matter- of-fact and specific character, then it is possible to carry it out anywhere.

Measures Adopted Outlined

LD2511183389 Prague CTK in English
1722 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Miroslav Pavel, the press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Government, informed newsmen here of today's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Federal Government which discussed the outcome of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee meeting that ended early today.

Speaking of the circumstances that led Ladislav Adamec to resign from the posts of Communist Party Presidium member and federal premier, he said Adamec had made the decision because he disagreed with the pace of reforms in Czechoslovakia and, above all, with the slow pace of political reforms. His disagreement and decision to resign were contained in two letters Ladislav Adamec had sent in June and October this year to then party general secretary Milos Jakes.

Under the principles of the Czechoslovak Constitution, Ladislav Adamec naturally remains head of the Federal Government until a new government is appointed by the president, Miroslav Pavel said.

At its session today, the government adopted the following measures:

—To recommend to the National Front Central Committee to speedily present to the president of the republic proposals for appointing to the Czechoslovak Government representatives of other political parties and people not affiliated to any party
—It appointed its representatives for immediate talks with representatives of striking students
—it asked the interior minister to suspend the commander of the forces that took action against the students on November 17 for the duration of the inquiry into the action by the general prosecutors of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Socialist Republic.
—it recommended to the president to stop legal proceedings against or pardon persons convicted of all offences against the social and state system.
—it agreed that work on a new draft constitution, On bills on freedoms of assembly and association and right to petitions, the press law and the bill on military services should be speedily finished in order to be put forward for public discussion by the end of the year at the latest. It recommended that the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee present a bill on youth as soon as possible.

In connection with calls for a general strike, the government asked citizens that each himself should consider the consequences it may have and act so that losses arising from it may be as small as possible and may not disrupt everyday life.

Further on Urbanek Address at Communist Meeting

LD2511162589 Prague CTK in English
1541 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—"I was elected to the post of Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary several hours ago, I must admit I had not counted with this", new Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek said today.

In an unplanned address at a meeting of Prague communists, Karel Urbanek said the situation is very much complicated for the party, for the whole country, for the citizens.

He said this meeting confirms that the solution of the basic tasks of the present will be a complicated process.

There will be those who will by right demand an acceleration of economic and political restructuring and there will be those who will call for a more considerate course of action.

The fundamental question is "whether we want socialism without mistakes, with the people and for the people. If this is so we must act accordingly already now. We must not be afraid to go among the people....to say we are communists", he said.

It has always been characteristic of the party to be revolutionary "and we must be revolutionary at this time", Urbanek said, and assured the participants he would execute his function honourably, openly, with pure intentions, without careerism, and would "require functions to be held by people who, and this will be very difficult, enjoy authority among communists, and what will be yet more difficult, who enjoy authority among people".

He stressed that forms and methods of work must be changed. This has been going on with difficulty. It is easier to issue instructions than to explain matters to people and win their support. "We must really learn to explain resolutions to people and to draw conclusions from failures to fulfil them", Urbanek said.

The most complicated task facing the party is to form a certain, what some people call coalition and some national front, government soon so that we may really enable other political parties to share in their government, the new party leader said, adding "we really want more political forces, political parties than so far, to join the government."

He stressed that he who has the fate of the party and of this socialist country at heart must strive to unite the party. This will require certain patience from everybody, patience in being able and willing to hear views of others, Karel Urbanek added.

Secretary Urbanek's Address to Nation 25 Nov

LD2511195589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Address to the nation by Karel Urbanek, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary, on 25 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades, our country has reached a historic crossroad. This is not a phrase—it is like the situation in the Czechoslovak SR has developed during the last few days. And it is not the first time that the people have decided their fate for themselves.

Personally, during the last few hours I have lived through a never-ending sequence of events which have confronted me—along with you—with thousands of questions, the answers to which we should have sought many years ago. Unfortunately, this is a fact for which we have paid.

These days our cities and streets are full of slogans, leaflets, and appeals. Among others I remember one written by somebody on a poster, it said: We are for socialism but without faults.

I have been CPCZ Central Committee general secretary for only a few hours; along with the rest of the new party leadership. Nevertheless, one does not need a lot of time to realize that the demand of socialism without faults contains deep truth and justifiable wishes. But it is also an expression of faith in the vitality of the social order that the people of this country chose 40 years ago.

I believe all Communists have realized this fact; and I think the majority of you have as well. Therefore, we are in a situation when the party—which I lead now—wants to embark on a new path. This is and will be very difficult for the party because it is possible to work successfully only with those who are trusted.

You certainly understand how pressing the question of trust and authority of our party is now for me. And I am aware that we in the leadership of the party lack this authority and trust to a degree which we nowadays need.

And as much as some comrades are still reluctant to admit this and continue to be inclined to see things as rosy, yesterday's deliberation at the CPCZ Central Committee had to state this with all urgency.

We repeated the lesson of how important it is to admit the truth directly and without sophistry because a person who starts at an incorrect starting point—and we often committed this sin in the past—is unable to draw correct conclusions. people drew our attention to this fact—but too many times their voices were not listened to. Now this has ended. As much as anybody likes it or dislikes it—there will be no more cadres who only say yes and say only such things which they assume they are expected to say. It is they who today are so adverse to criticism. It is they who forgot that a renewal of cadres is necessary and inevitable simply because new people see things in new ways and are not weighed down by prejudices and stereotypes. It is they who have most damaged the cause of the party and socialism.

We have put ourselves too far out of touch with the people, with the reality of their everyday life, with their actual needs and interests. This is another lesson for which we have dearly paid; but it is also imperative for the future. If you want to have the right to influence the fate of people and nations, then you must have a good understanding of life.

Unfortunately, we failed sometimes to enable the natural conveyers of human destinies—our writers, playwrights, and actors—to pass on to us this important knowledge. And this is one of the reasons why, to our detriment, we do not have them on our side.

However, I believe that their national pride and artist's natural desire to be on the side of those who strive for a new and better life will win them over one day and they

will trust our party and its policy. It has been this way since the establishment of the CPCZ. The best artists stood by our side. It was we who forgot how necessary it is to speak with them all the time, take their advice and listen to them attentively.

There is no doubt that I am not in an easy position now. I do realize the extent of my responsibility.

I cannot permit myself to yield to emotions. I have to react in a soberminded and businesslike manner. I expect the same thing from my colleagues, and, however difficult this demand is, I also expect it from you, esteemed fellow citizens.

I cannot carry out some kind of scientific analysis of the present state of affairs—doing so would be absurd. I suppose that the main thing which interests you today is our notion of the days, weeks, and months ahead.

We do not have ready-made solutions for everything. Moreover, every hour brings new stimuli, new demands. But no one can perform miracles. We shall not create from day to day a new concept of our future or, to put it better, of how to attain our goals.

However, we know the main thing. We have to sit down at a negotiating table with all those who think well of the destiny of this country, without prejudice and without bias—as was frequently the case previously. This is the main thing now. Without this we shall not find a way out. This has to be brought forth from reality and not from pious wishes. I shall negotiate with all those, both within the framework of the National Front and outside it, who can offer lessons, contribute advice, and who want to cooperate. This includes those who after 1968 left or had to leave the party. I think that as soon as we start to negotiate we shall come to an agreement with our partners. The will of all sides is important.

On the other hand, we have to part ways with all those who misused their office and position. Only in this way will people believe that we want to eliminate corruption, undeserved enrichment, and the like.

The overwhelming majority of more than 1.5 million rank and file Communists deserve our respect. As a rule they have worked more than the rest and not infrequently they have been subjected to public criticism.

I am an optimist, mainly because I dare assert that I know our people. I have worked and lived among them throughout my life—all 48 years—in Bojkovice, in my native Moravia, in Brno, and now in Prague. I try to live and work in such a way that I can look them straight in the eye. I know that we know how to work, that we are not thickheads and ignoramuses, that our brains and hands are the biggest assets of Czechoslovakia. I realize especially urgently what a big mistake it has been to waste this asset: It is disrepectful to the clever and talented ones while on the other side it allows the lazy ones, regrettably also the careerists and people lacking talent, at times to manage and make decisions.

We talk about restructuring. A great deal has been said about it in various speeches. I would put it differently: We live in the heart of Europe and a heart, as is known, is inclined to suffer from a heart attack. Let us not permit our homeland, with its deep democratic traditions, to suffer such a serious illness.

Thank you for your attention.

Journalists Union Presidium Resigns

LD2511194389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists Central Committee and both republican organizations met this afternoon in Prague.

A number of those speaking in a debate submitted a proposal for the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists Central Committee Presidium to resign. The proposal was accepted.

Then a new leadership of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists was elected. Jaroslava Markova, editor of HOSPODARSKE NOVINY [ECONOMIC NEWS] has become its chairperson. Deputy chairman were elected: Stanislav Tomas, editor-in-chief of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE [PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, people's party paper] and Anton Balaz editor-in-chief of SLOBODA [FREEDOM]. Josef Vesely was elected a secretary.

From the resolution it emerges that a solution to the crisis situation is only possible with the consistent implementation of the nine points that emerged at yesterday's session of the Party Central Committee.

The leadership of the journalists' union rejects the accusation that the present crisis has been caused by mass media, and is turning to all journalists to give details about the situation truthfully and in full.

Stepan Offers Resignation From Posts 25 Nov

LD2511135389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1310 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A rally of thousands of citizens of Prague and those who have come to the Czechoslovak capital for this purpose has just started. Roman, can you hear us?

[Reporter] Yes, I can hear you, and I wish all our listeners a good afternoon from the platform of the Letna stadium. I can confirm that I am glad that I am here on top of the platform because the Letna plateau is totally full, and it would have been otherwise rather difficult to broadcast.

The rally has in fact already begun. Vaclav Maly, a spokesman of the Civic Forum is now addressing the crowd. He was preceded by Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, who told the crowd that he was asked by Karel Urbanek,

general secretary of the party's Central Committee, to announce that Miroslav Stepan had asked to be released from all posts and that the Central Committee had decided at its meeting yesterday that the Ministry of the Interior official responsible for the [police] action on 17 November be released from his post. Vasil Mohorita also announced that representatives of the Civic Forum will also meet representatives of the National Front in the near future. [passage omitted]

Prague Party Presidium, Secretariat Resign

LD2511221889 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—An extraordinary session of the Prague City Communist Party Committee started here today.

The session will discuss important political and personal issues concerning the Prague city party organization.

Communist Party Presidium member and head secretary of the Prague City Committee Miroslav Stepan announced his resignation at today's session.

Also resigning are all members of the presidium and secretariat of the party city committee in Prague. Eleven participants voiced their views and remarks in the following debate centering on the present situation in the Czechoslovak capital and on ways to contribute to the action ability of the party in these days.

Kucera Addresses Socialist Party Meeting

LD2411152189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, held in Prague today, was devoted to the current internal political situation.

Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the party, assessed the situation in Prague and other cities, and pointed to the causes of the tension. He stated that as long as there is no violence, the right to peacefully demonstrate cannot be denied to anyone.

He went on to discuss the proposals of this party over the last 2 years which, however, were accepted only on a small scale.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party, with regard to the seriousness of the situation, adopted a resolution that could be understood as a certain form of disagreement.

Bohuslav Kucera said that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party should now fight to have its proposals for the work of representative bodies implemented and for its bills of laws to be used.

He went on to say that the party was never opposed to dialogue with anyone and that it had to know all views and basic trends of the development of society. Political agreements, however, must be concluded cautiously, and a deliberate policy of an independent political party ought to be carried out.

Bohuslav Kucera put forward a proposal that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party demands to hold, as soon as possible, a meeting of representatives of political parties and the most important political forces of the National Front with the participation of all civic initiatives, including churches and others. Its aim should be dialogue and a striving to find national agreement and a solution to the current situation.

Views 'Serious' Political Situation

LD2411220889 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Interview with Czechoslovak Socialist Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera by unidentified reporter in Prague on 24 November—recorded]

[Text] Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee held a meeting in Prague today to discuss the current political situation in the country. The party has recently been acting as a truly independent political party that wants to bear important social responsibility and that wants to give its normal political activity a much higher profile. One proposal was submitted at the meeting advocating a broad dialogue among all political and social forces.

Mr Chairman, how do you assess the current political situation, and what are the aims of your party's policy in the current period?

[Kucera] We view the current situation as very serious. The 17 November events undoubtedly gave the immediate impetus to the crisis. We greatly regret that something of this kind occurred and most of all the fact that the Armed Forces intervened against students.

However, we believe that this was merely the culmination of the latent and growing crisis in society when not enough attention was devoted to the fact that economic reform must be accompanied by consistent steps in the area of political reform. As a party we have submitted a number of proposals. We have also submitted joint proposals within the forum of the National Front. On the one hand, however, our proposals have been disregarded, while, on the other hand, it could be said that the joint proposals have remained at the center as mere declarations and either have been carried out only hesitantly, or have not been carried out at all.

No one can suspect that I am saying this on Czechoslovak television only now, for I already said this in May this year. I believe that if we had listened earlier and more attentively to what our party representatives were saying about the state of our society in the parliament, in the National Front, in meetings of Czechoslovak Communist Party representatives, we could have avoided many things.

Now, of course, recrimination is not the sole issue, because what is needed is to seek ways out of the situation. We have to work; we have to create a solid society in which the values of socialism and democracy are fully realized. This is why our Central Committee—I apologise to viewers that I am reading this in order not to say something that would be incorrect—proposes to discuss an immediate convening of a meeting of representatives from all political parties, social organizations of the National Front, civic initiatives, and churches with the aim of starting a dialogue on the future of the CSSR. Furthermore, before free and democratic elections are held, we propose that governments of national consensus be formed. The Central Committee has instructed the Central Committee Presidium and the clubs of deputies to push for a speedy discussion and approval of bills on the right to assembly, association, petition, election, press and publishing.

I would like to say that we have also expressed our gratitude to our press and our publishing house for the work they have done at present. We hope that our proposals will be accepted by our partners and that they will contribute to leading our society out of the current crisis by political means.

Knotek Stresses Need for Responsible Youth

LD2511201989 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party believes that "a dialogue must be shaped on constitutional provisions, in the interest of improving socialism," Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Ivan Knotek said here today.

Addressing a meeting of the West Slovak Regional Committee of the Communist Party, Knotek said "Those who in 1968 had different opinions but also some young people, believe that a dialogue can be conducted also in a different way, i.e. against the Communist Party and socialism...They describe the past 40 years as a period of errors, concentrating in particular on the last 20 years. They bring up and elaborate various analyses, flooding the media through which they influence the people, in an effort to create the impression that no question of socio-economic development had been settled in Czechoslovakia and that we are ranked among the backward states of Europe and the world."

Knotek warned that if party members and candidate members evacuate their positions, others will fill them. He stressed the need for consistency and responsibility in relation to the young generation, for meeting the demands of the youth organization and for differentiation between young people.

Knotek told the meeting that the conclusion of the Communist Party Central Committee session was clear—not to yield to the present pressures put on the party in the political sphere. Not to yield means to unite on a way of overcoming the present state, he said.

Adamec on Possible Meeting With Civic Forum

LD2511203789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The Federal Government held an emergency session today. Comrade Premier, what was the content of deliberations? [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, how realistic is a dialogue with representatives of the Civic Forum?

[Adamec] Well, last week I started the first such dialogue. Naturally, I am aware that it was the first dialogue. We must not stop at this point. We have to meet again with representatives and try to find specific solutions to the burning problems and to the problems in which we, as a government, are interested in. I am not avoiding a meeting. Naturally, at present we are in a somewhat more burdensome situation; there is a whole series of problems to which we have to react very fast indeed, but I am convinced that next week we shall hold such a meeting again.

[Correspondent] Are you planning, in the near future, to address one of the meetings which are being organized in Prague?

[Adamec] Well, of course, this depends on circumstances. I think that if a meeting were well organized, and if there were conditions for a sensible agreement, I am not avoiding this. We need to adopt a stand on questions which our public, above all, but also our government are interested in; that is where a dialogue would be necessary and useful. It is always necessary to examine and weigh it well. [end recording]

Civic Forum Representatives Describe Aims

Vaclav Havel Interview

LD2511225189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Czechoslovak television less than half an hour ago broadcast a short interview with Vaclav Havel, representative of the Civic Forum. Havel explained in the interview the aims of the Civic Forum and stated that it is a spontaneously formed movement representing that part of our society which has a critical attitude toward the policy of the current leadership. The Civic Forum does not have a classical organization structure; it is more like a sort of crisis staff which wants to lead a dialogue with the government. It proposes to the government that it is capable of forming a citizens' committee in which all elements of the population would be represented, including independent initiatives—that means also the Charter 77 as well as people from the research field, analysts, and others.

Such a team would, according to Vaclav Havel, be a truly qualified partner capable of suggesting social changes leading ultimately to a pluralistic system.

Jan Ruml Interview

LD2311001189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] A CTK correspondent interviewed Jan Ruml, representative of Civic Forum, on the newly established Civic forum.

He said that the purpose of the Civic Forum is to affiliate all citizens who have a critical view about the present political situation and wish to contribute toward making the republic free and democratic. He stressed that the Civic Forum is not a political organization but an open association of citizens.

Answering a question on how he assesses a meeting between a delegation of the Civic Forum and Ladislav Adamec, premier of the Federal Government, Jan Ruml said that the meeting was not the beginning of a dialogue but only an informative meeting to exchange views. He went on to a say that the Civic Forum is capable of forming, in a very short time, a representative committee consisting of representatives from all spheres of social life which would hold talks with the government.

Civic Forum Announces 26 Nov Agenda

LD2511230789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] A news conference given by the Civic Forum this evening acquainted journalists with tomorrow's agenda.

Talks with Premier Adamec are to start. A demand that Miroslav Stepan and Miroslav Zavadil resign from other posts held by them in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee will be voiced. The agenda will also include a question of legalizing independent structures and at the same time the release of other political prisoners was mentioned.

The Civic Forum expressed confidence in Premier Adamec. A question by a foreign journalist asked how it is possible that just a week ago the premier did not wish to speak about such a meeting. This was answered by Michal Horacek from MLADY SVET very briefly and tellingly: What is important nowadays are not words but actions.

National Front, Government, Civic Forum Meet

LD2611112589 Prague CTK in English 1051 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—A meeting of delegations of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government, led by Premier Ladislav Adamec, and the Civil Forum, represented inter alia by Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Maly and Sasa Vondra, opened here today.

The Prague City Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and representatives of the Civil Forum launched a dialogue today in the central hall of the Prague Julius Fucik Park of Culture in the Letna District. They deal with political issues, economy and ecology.

News Conference Follows

LD2611175289 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—A delegation of the National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government, led by Premier Ladislav Adamec, met here today with representatives of the Civil Forum, led by Vaclav Havel.

A press conference was held immediately after the talks. Government Spokesman Miroslav Pavel and spokesman for the Civil Forum Vaclav Maly briefed the Czechoslovak and foreign journalists about the results of the discussions. The press conference was also attended by representatives of the Most (Bridge) Initiative Michael Kocab and Michal Horacek.

Miroslav Pavel announced that Ladislav Adamec will address the rally at Letna this afternoon. He said that the premier stressed during the talks that the meeting is a continuation of the dialogue started last Tuesday. A number of demands and proposals have already been realized since then, he said. Czechoslovakia has valid laws which cannot be changed from day to day. Dealing with the planned general strike he said that its declaration is a reality on which hardly anything can be changed. The strike should be a token and not confrontation strike, he said and confirmed the interest of the government in a dialogue, in the search for a joint solution of the problems of society.

According to Miroslav Pavel, Vaclav Havel welcomed the attitude of Premier Ladislav Adamec to the dialogue with the Civil Forum. He submitted the demands of the Civil Forum as a prerequisite for calming down the current social tension.

Civic Forum Announces 26 Nov Prague Rally

LD2611120489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1026 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Unscheduled news bulletin]

[Text] A rally of the Civic Forum will take place at Prague's Letenska Plain this afternoon.

It is estimated that 750,000 workers and young people gathered there yesterday to express support for the demands put forward at the beginning of this week by the students of Prague universities and colleges. At the meeting, representatives of various social and age groups of our society spoke and expressed a wide spectrum of views on the possibilities of resolving the current situation.

Bratislava Radio Account

LD2611142289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Barbara Doleckova report from Prague]

[Text] Representatives from the Civic Forum met for the first real dialogue with a delegation from the federal government and the National Front Central Committee in the Red Room of the Prague Municipal House at 1110 this morning.

For the Civil Forum, here are, among others, Vaclav Havel, Michal Kocap, Petr Cepek, Sasa Vondra, and Michal Horacek.

The delegation from the federal government and the National Front were represented by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec; Marian Calfa, minister of the federal government; Vasil Mohorita, Jan Skoda, Bohuslav Kucera, Jindrich Polednik, and others.

Journalists were present only at the welcoming ceremony. The talks are going on behind closed doors. Miroslav Pavel, spokesman for the federal government, said before its opening that after its completion there will probably be a press conference with representatives of both sides. If further information is available during the talks themselves we naturally will let you know in our broadcast.

Civic Forum's Program Principles Announced

LD2611235589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2238 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] We shall now acquaint you with the program principles of the Civic Forum as they have been published today:

They say that our country has found itself in a deep moral, spiritual, ecological, social, economic, and political crisis. This crisis is a testimony to the ineffectiveness of the existing political and economic system. Almost all the mechanisms that are essential to enable society to react appropriately to changing internal and external conditions have been discarded. For many decades, the self-evident principle that who holds the power must also bear responsibility has been disregarded.

All three basic powers in the state—legislative, executive, and judiciary powers—have merged into the hands of a narrow ruling group composed almost exclusively of members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. This has undermined the foundations of the legal state. The CPCZ monopoly in appointing all important posts has created an unjust vassal system, which has paralyzed the entire society. People are thus condemned to the role of mere executors of commands from those holding power. They are denied a number of basic human, civic, and political rights.

The command system of the national economy's central management has failed visibly. The promised restructuring of the economic mechanism is slow, inconsistent, and is not accompanied by essential political changes. These problems will not be solved by changing people in the position of power or by the departure of a few politicians from public life.

The Civic Forum therefore strives for the following program aims.

First, with regard to the law: The Czechoslovak Republic must be a legal and democratic state in the spirit of the traditions of Czechoslovak statehood, and in the spirit of internationally valid principles, expressed above all in the General Declaration of Human Rights and in the international convention on civic and political rights. A new Constitution must be formulated in this spirit, in which relations between citizens and the state must be accurately regulated. Such a Constitution may of course only be approved by a newly elected constituent assembly. The execution of civic rights and liberties will be reliably safeguarded by a developed system of legal guarantees. An independent judiciary must also comprise a constitutional and administrative judiciary.

The entire Czechoslovak legal system must gradually align itself with these principles and ensure that it binds not only citizens but also state organs and functionaries. We insist that injustices committed in the past as a consequence of the politically motivated persecutions be corrected, the Civic Forum program principles state.

Second, in the political system, we demand fundamental, consistent, and permanent changes of one society's political system. We have to create anew, or renew, democratic institutions and mechanisms to enable the true participation by all citizens in the management of public affairs and which will, at the same time, become an effective preventative measure against the abuse of both political and economic power. All the existing and newly founded political parties and other political and social groupings, therefore, have to have equal conditions for participation in free elections to all representative bodies. A prerequisite is, however, for the CPCZ to abandon its constitutionally ensured leading role in our society and the monopoly control over the mass media. Nothing prevents it from doing this as early as tomorrow, note the Civic Forum program principles.

Czechoslovakia will be, while preserving the principle of the federal arrangement of the state, an equal association of both nations and all nationalities.

Third, in foreign policy we strive for our country to take up a dignified place in Europe and in the world. We are part of Central Europe and therefore we want to have good relations with all our neighbors. We believe in joining in the European integration. We also want to put forward our policy toward our partners in the Warsaw Treaty and in the CEMA to the idea of the European home. We respect our international legal obligations, with the full preservation of state sovereignty. At the

same time, however, we want to reexamine those agreements motivated by excessive ambitions of leading representatives, say the Civic Forum program principles.

Fourth, concerning the national economy, we must abandon the present method of management. It takes away enthusiasm to work, wastes its results, plunders natural resources, destroys the environment, and increases Czechoslovakia's lagging behind the world as a whole.

We are convinced that this method of management cannot be improved by partial adjustments. We want to create a developed market that is not deformed by bureaucratic interventions. Its successful functioning is conditional on the breaking up of monopolist positions of today's large enterprises and the creation of a true competition. This can only be created on the basis of the parallel, equal existence of various types of ownership and by a gradual opening of our economy to the world. The state will, naturally, continue to have a number of irreplaceable functions. It will, in general, ensure the same for all conditions of management and will carry out a macroeconomic regulating policy with the aim of coping with inflation, the growth of foreign debt, and threatening unemployment. Only the state can guarantee the necessary minimum of public and social services and the protection of the environment.

Fifth, in the sphere of social justice, the program principles of the Civic Forum say the decisive thing for us is that in society conditions are created for developing and utilizing everyone's abilities. Everyone should be given the same conditions and the same chances. Czechoslovakia has to be a socially just country in which people get help in old age, in illness, and in difficult life situations. An important prerequisite for such a society is, however, a prosperous national economy. Churches, communities, enterprises, and various state and voluntary organizations can contribute to a varied network of social services. By this the possibilities will be broadened for the utilization of the precious sense for human solidarity, responsibility, and love for one's fellow man. These humanitarian principles are necessary today for the cohesion of our community.

Sixth, the environment. We all have to look for a path toward renewing of harmony between man and his environment. We will strive for a gradual repair of damage inflicted on nature in the past decades. We will attempt to return the original beauty to our country and residences, to ensure a more perfect protection of nature and natural sources. We will strive for the basic conditions of man's life to improve fundamentally, in the shortest possible time, good quality drinking water, a clean atmosphere and edible foodstuffs.

We will press for the fundamental improvement of the system of environmental care, which will be aimed not only at liquidating the existing sources of pollution, but above all at preventing further damage. At the same time, we will have to alter the structure and orientation of the national economy, particularly reducing the consumption of energy and raw materials. We are conscious of the fact that this will be linked with sacrifices that will affect each of us. This all demands changes in the hierarchy of values and style of life.

Seventh, culture. Culture cannot be the mere affair of artists, scientists, and teachers, but must be the way of life of the entire civic society. It must extricate itself from the shackles of any ideology and overcome artificial separation from the world culture, say the program principles of the Civic Forum.

Art and literature must not be restricted and must be given broad possibilities for publication and for contacts with the public. Let us give science and scientific work the place due it in society. Let us eliminate both the naive and demagogic overestimation of it and its demeaning position, which turns it into a servant of the ruling party.

Let democratic education be organized on humanitarian principles without the state monopoly of education. Society must respect teachers of all kinds of schools and give them scope to assert their personality.

Universities must be given back their historic rights which safeguarded the independence and freedom of the academic soil both for the teaching staff and students. We regard the educational attainment of society as the most precious national asset. Upbringing and education must lead to independent thinking and morally responsible behavior.

This is what we want. Our program is brief today. We are, however, working on its solidification. The Civic Forum is an open association of citizens, therefore we call on all of those who can contribute to this work to do so.

[Dated] Prague, 26 November 1989.

Civic Forum Holds News Conference 27 Nov

LD2711015189 Prague CTK in English 0006 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Civic Forum's representatives told Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here tonight that their negotiations with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec were only the beginning of the dialogue between both sides.

They discussed the issue of political prisoners who still number eighteen, according to available sources. Speaking about tomorrow's general strike, Civic Forum representatives assured that the forum is not interested in destruction of the Czechoslovak economy, that it should be mainly a token strike.

Speaking on the approval of the Civic Forum's program, Jiri Dienstbier said that the forum is now trying to pass from the critical stage to its program and tomorrow's

general strike will finish one stage of the Civic Forum's activities and start another one.

Forum representatives stressed that the Civic Forum is not and does not intend to become a political party. It associates independant initiatives of various orientations and is the basis for the formation of political pluralism in the emerging democratic Czechoslovakia, they said.

The current situation in Europe necessitates that Czechoslovakia remain a Warsaw Treaty member. However, the aim is to overcome military pacts and form another system of collective security, Vaclav Klaus said in reply to a question.

The Civic Forum does not consider it possible that the principle of the leading role of the Communist Party be included in a new constitution. This week proved that the majority of both nations does not consider it necessary.

The Civic Forum expects that the original date of elections—May or June 1991, will change.

Asked what the next development will be like if the Civic Forum demands are not fulfilled, Vaclav Havel said that no matter whether they are fulfilled or not, the strike alert will continue.

Answering questions concerning the Czechoslovak economy, Vaclav Klaus stressed that Czechoslovak economists are able to elaborate a new economic program which would take the economy out of the current situation. "I believe that thanks to its cautious policy Czechoslovakia has better initial conditions for a radical economic reform than the neighbouring states", he pointed out.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate in Prague

LD2211162489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Tens of thousands of citizens gathered again on Wenceslas Square in Prague at around 1600 hours [1500 GMT]. Speakers representing the striking students, the Civic Forum and others, are appearing near the statue of St. Wenceslas and the building of Svobodne Slovo [publishing house]. Various views are being voiced, but the atmosphere is relatively calm.

Havel Speech

LD2211204889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Tens of thousands of citizens gathered in the early evening again in Wenceslas Square in Prague. They filled the entire square, as well as Jindrisska and Vodickova Streets just off the square. As in past days, they shouted slogans and displayed a number of posters.

The participants were addressed from the Melantrich publishing house building first by Petr Mison, chairman of the City Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS], who, on behalf of the committee Presidium, supported the statement by the CSS on the events of 17 November in Prague.

On behalf of the initiative association Civic Forum the gathering was addressed by Vaclav Havel. He told them that within the next few hours the Forum will attempt to compile the voiced demands into a single document.

The actor Petr Burian read out the text of a telegram of greetings which the Civic Forum has sent to organizations of similar direction in European socialist countries.

Wenceslas Square Demonstration

LD2311001289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Just as in previous days, shortly before 1600, tens of thousands of citizens began to gather on Wenceslas Square in Prague. Within a short period of time they filled the entire space of the square, including the adjacent Jindrisska and Vodickova streets. They shouted slogans and unfolded a number of banners. From the building of Melantrich publishing house, those present were at first addressed by Petr Mison, chairman of the City Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party who, on behalf of the Presidium of the City Committee, supported the statement of his party on the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague. Others who were to deliver addresses were representatives of the initiative association Civic Forum and actors. Among other things, Academician Miroslav Katetov addressed the meeting. He spoke in favor of completely open and fruitful dialogue. Journalist Jiri Cerny laid stress on truthfulness of journalistic reports and inadmissibility of slandering anybody in the press.

The protest of the Club of Czechoslovak Olympic Competitors against the action of the order forces on 17 November was conveyed by our former athletic representative, Josef Odlozil.

Pavel Wagner, student of the Academy of Dramatic Arts, briefed those present on the fact that a Czechoslovak Coordination Strike Committee of University Students was formed this afternoon.

The meeting ended before 1800. However, numerous groups continued significant dialogues on Wenceslas Square. The meeting expressed similar political demands as those of previous days. At the same time, however, many participants did not reject socialism. Hand-written leaflets likewise circulated among those gathered on the square, appealing for order and for preventing expressions of aggression.

Students Rally at Bratislava Uprising Square

LD2211223689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Bratislava students met on the Square of the Slovak National Uprising this afternoon. Editor Viliam Racek took part in the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Racek] I cannot remember fog as thick as today's for the past 14 years. It was, for the last time, on 21 November, 1975, when a big football match between Czechoslovakia and England was to be held here and had to be postponed. At that time, thousands of people were here in Bratislava too. Today thousands of people have gathered on the Square of the Slovak National Uprising. I asked some of them why they came.

[Ferko] We are all here for the same thing, I guess. That is, for a better socialism, for a genuine dialogue with the population. We are here in order to say our public: No to violence in public life and violence as a means of solving political problems. I should also like to say that what is involved is not a destabilization of Czechoslovakia or socialism.

[Racek] That was Andrej Ferko, writer and dramatist, but also a pedagogue and a mathematician. [passage omitted]

[Racek] Let us have a look at the Square of the Slovak National Uprising again: thousands of people, shouting slongans, speeches, flags, posters. A while ago I talked with young people. I am now interested in the views of the older generation.

[Unidentified voice] Well, something should be done for the better, so that things get better.

[Unidentified woman] They increase the prices of everything, but they do not increase salaries, that is the main thing, is it not.

[Racek] If I can describe the scene here on the Square of the Slovak National Uprising; it is the young generation which is predominantly at the center of events. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Demonstrators Fill Wenceslas Square 24 Nov

LD2411162889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Tens of thousands of demonstrators, carrying state flags and banners, began to gather again on Wenceslas Square this afternoon. At about 1600 [1500 GMT], they completely filled the entire square and the adjacent streets to yet again express their dissatisfaction with the brutal action of the border forces on 17 November. They demanded principle political and cadre changes and expressed their views on further development in our homeland.

Speakers are addressing the demonstrators from the building of Melantrich Publishing House. They represent the students, the Citizens Forum, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and others.

Dubcek Among Speakers

LD2411192689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Wenceslas Square was again crowded with people today before 1600; it is not just students and apprentices any more. Representatives of Prague enterprises and institutions, as well as those outside Prague also came to support demands by students on strike.

The citizens who gathered here today also observed the usual high standard and decency of behavior.

At 1545 Jaromir Masek, editor-in-chief of SVOBODNE SLOVO, addressed those gathered here. He stressed among other things the need for a clear program which will have the full and sincere support of the people.

The citizens were also informed about the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army dissociating itself from the events of the Friday evening of 17 November. In this context, it was reported that the intervention against the demonstrators was carried out by the antiterrorist unit of the Interior Ministry.

After a report about an increasing number of enterprises which decided to carry out 2-hour strike on Monday, the citizens gathered here were addressed by Alexander Dubcek, Vaclav Havel, Vladimir Merta, Ivan Hasek, Vera Caslavska, and other speakers who in harmony asked the Czechoslovak Government to react immediately to the demands by the Civic Forum.

The rally began to disperse at 1730.

More on Dubcek, Havel Speeches

LD2411200589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Tens of thousands of demonstrators with state flags and banners began to gather in Wenceslas Square this afternoon. At about 1600 they completely filled its entire space and the adjacents streets in order to express their political demands and viewpoints on the current situation in the country.

Speakers address the demonstrators from the building of Melantrich publishing house. They represent the students, the Civic Forum, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and so forth.

Jaromir Masek, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee presidium and chief editor of SVOBODONE SLOVO, acquainted those assembled with the results of today's session of his Party's Central Committee.

The next speaker was Alexander Dubcek. He supported the Civic Forum and spoke about the attitudes of the civic and youth movements which are finding support among increasingly broader strata of the people.

The next to speak was Vaclav Havel who said that the Civic Forum is ready to talk with representatives of the state.

The demonstrators were then greeted, on behalf of the players of Sparta,, by Ivan Hasek, captain of the Czechoslovak Football Representation.

Other sportsmen, actors, painters and singers also spoke from the balcony of Melantrich. (Michal Kocab) said that during the first meeting of representatives of Civic Forum with the government positions will be clarified, but specific demands have not yet been discussed. He appealed for a speedy reaction to the demands submitted.

Traveler Jiri Hanzelka said that the new chapter of our history, which is being written at the moment, .. being written from a pure heart and with clean hands.

Prague TV Shows Footage of 17 Nov Police Action

LD2411200189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1930 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Dear viewers, on 17 November this year there was a rally of students and university teachers in Prague to honor the memory of Jan Opletal and other victims of fascist barbarity. The participants moved from Albertov Street to Vysehrad and from there to the center of Prague.

Czechoslovak Television is now going to show at least part of the essential film footage of the intervention by the security forces which took place after repeated appeals to disperse. This film was shot on Friday, 17 November 1989 in the evening on Narodni Trida Street.

This film is the subject of much discussion, and is being shown publicly in several places in Prague.

[The announcer is followed by 5 minutes of chanting, singing, shouting, and screaming but no further reportage.]

Further on Prague TV Coverage

AU2411210089

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech at 1930 GMT on 24 November shows an unscheduled 5-minute feature consisting of "substantial shots of the police intervention" against a student demonstration held in Prague on 17 November to mark the anniversary of Nazi-suppressed student demonstrations in Prague in 1939.

As the announcer explains in her introductory remarks, these shots—which were taken by a Czechoslovak Television crew near the "Maj" department store on Narodni Trida in the center of Prague in the evening of 17 November—are the subject of many discussions at present and "have already been publicly screened at various places in Prague."

The first 4 minutes of the film footage itself—which is shown without any accompanying commentary—shows young demonstrators confronted by rows of riot police in riot control formation, armed with truncheons, carrying shields, and wearing helmets. The demonstrators are seen handing the police flowers and are heard begging the police to let them go. The Czechoslovak national anthem and "One Day There Will Be Peace" (the Czech version of "We Shall Overcome") are sung and the following slogans are chanted: "No To Violence," "Our Hands Are Bare," "Let Us Go," "Give Them Flowers," and "Human Rights, Human Rights." A few girls are heard crying. None of the demonstrators appears to be armed.

There is only very brief footage, about 30 seconds, on the start of the actual police action. The policemen are shown wielding their truncheons and hitting some of the students. Truncheons can be seen above the crowd and at this point the film is shown in slow motion. A truncheon striking a demonstrator can be seen bending. There is a shot of a scuffle between a policeman and demonstrators. A policeman is seen striking at the cameraman. The scene then switches to a later point, the aftermath of the police action, with students seen escaping to side streets, some of them holding various parts of their bodies.

After the end of the program, the announcer mentions that the prosecuting bodies will use the film as part of their evidence in investigating the circumstances of the 17 November police action.

Over 5,000 Students Rally in Kosice 24 Nov

LD2411214789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] A student demonstration has been permitted in Kosice. Over 5,000 university students are taking part in it. They include also other working people.

'Thousands' Celebrate in Wenceslas Square 24 Nov

LD2411221889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Thousands of people carrying flags and banners and mainly with smiling faces are still thronging in Wenceslas Square. A brass band has been playing at the intersection of Vodickova Street and Wenceslas Square, and people have been singing with gusto national songs. Hundreds of Prague citizens are cordially greeting cars on the main highway whose drivers are answering by

wildly sounding their horns. Judging by the mood of all the people of Prague who have come to Wenceslas Square at this late hour, it is rather difficult to estimate how long this merriment in the center of the city will last.

Urbanek Speaks on Future Course

LD2511151189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1132 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Report on speech by CPCZ General Secretary Karel Urbanek at Palace of Culture; live—monitored in progress]

[Text] [Urbanek] When I come to the work places, and this can happen, and when some workers say frankly: Comrade director, this is the first time we've seen you here.... [interrupted by applause] I don't want to create an alibi for myself. This is simply the reality. We must rid ourselves of this formalism because no one will accept us afterward. [applause]

[Announcer] You are listening to Karel Urbanek's speech in the Palace of Culture.

[Urbanek] We must change the forms and methods of work. We spelled them out at the ninth session. This is a tough job, a tough job, indeed. I will not say why all this exists, but I will say mainly why this is a tough job. It is simpler to issue instruction, rather than explain and persuade people. [applause]

But, comrades, this is both my own and our own self-criticism. I worked in lower posts, too, and on many occasions I, too, applied these forms. This is simply a system which is established in the party. It was, of course, sometimes used by (?a director) in a firm manner, some applied them by acceptable means. We must indeed learn to explain to the people the resolutions and conclusions and to persuade them. We must draw conclusions from their nonfulfillment. [applause]

I think this will be of great importance. The workers, but also others, are dissatisfied with the fact—and they are justly dissatisfied—that such widespread corruption and bribery exist in socialist society. This will be one of the next things we must remove. [applause] I should perhaps respond to some specific questions, but I have been here for a short span of time, so that I simply had not managed to hear everything. However, a request was made to convene—to convene swiftly—the city conference. It should be well thought out so we approach this without emotions and with certain conceptions, because yesterday I found out how difficult, how very difficult it is, to put things together in several hours' time. Therefore, comrades, we should indeed consider things without emotions so that we would have a clear image of them, so that we would not make mistakes about people, so that we would not have to simply change every issue in a speedy manner.

Unfortunately, life will also demand such changes over a certain period of time. This will mean that the more demanding work will, perhaps, require a more frequent replacement of cadres, so that they could keep up with the pace which lies ahead of us.

The most complex task for the party will be to form—some call it a coalition government, some call it a national front government—in a short space of time, so that we could in reality also make it possible for other political parties and others to have a share in this government. (?What's the matter?) This is nothing new. The party's Central Committee Presidium had, perhaps 2 months ago, adopted a document in which this was assessed and in which it outlined the tasks in this respect. We do indeed want other political forces and political parties to be more involved in the government than hitherto. I will not elaborate on this topic, but I must, however, say that since the very beginning the understanding of this question has been very difficult, especially by the pre-war party members, whom we hold in very high esteem and who carried out a lot of painstaking work. When they come out with their view, we, comrades have no right to criticize them. [applause]

But where does the real problem lie? These people have been waging political struggle all the time and they were, of course, getting into the center of (?happenings) in political parties. But the situation is different now. We are not pulling things down, we are building them up. We must join the forces with them. Comrade Gottwald was not afraid of this, either. He had eight ministers in a national front government, while there are two in the government of the Czech Socialist Republic. This will be a question which will have to be explained to all. People will not understand it. The party will split on this issue. So, I again repeat to all those to whom the fate of the party and this socialist country is close: We must go on uniting the party. This will require a certain degree of patience from each of us, but not so that nothing will be done, but the patience of being able and willing to heed the views of another person.

As far as other demands for an extraordinary congress are concerned, we will see what other demands there will be. I am saying once again: This, too, must be prepared. It is perhaps possible to convene an extraordinary congress in a fortnight, but it is not, in my view, a well-considered decision I would say and a decision... [Urbanek laughs] well, I cannot find any other expression than a cool-minded one. But this is not the correct expression, either. So that, in my view, all of us should consider it.... [indistinct commotion from audience] Say it again, please!

[Unidentified speaker] Do they have to wait for us?

[Urbanek] Oh no, the comrade is right. He is right. [applause]

[Announcer] You are listening to Karel Ubanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Questions from the floor follow.

[Urbanek] [Words indistinct] rival parties or rival forces, call it what you like, will not be waiting for us. He is quite right there, but even if this is the case, I am convinced, despite the remarks—and a remark is already hanging in the underground and I have been in this post for a little while—I will not count it, and it already expressed mistrust in me. [as heard] [Indistinct chanting from audience] I do not know why, reasons for this do, perhaps, exist. But this is another question. If someone mistrusts another person, let him come forward and we can discuss it.

Comrades, I am speaking rather slowly because I am weighing words, but I am doing this mainly to calm you down. [applause] By this, I do not want to say—and I recall this once again—that I would like to prevent everybody from speaking their mind here. It is only from the discussion and from the exchange of views something good can arise. [applause]

I said in the beginning that I was not going to speak for very long. I have not even made preparations for it, because comrades telephoned me that the aktiv of leading officials of Prague is very stormy and that I should come to see it. So, I came to see you and since the very first moment I, indeed, could see that it was very stormy. I would like to ask you, or if you like, beg you, to make it possible for me to leave. I would like to get myself ready, if I can still make it, for my speech on the television. [applause]

Demonstrators Term CPCZ Changes 'Inadequate'

LD2511214789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Actor Milan Kniazko opened a peaceful demonstration of tens of thousands of citizens in Bratislava this afternoon. He declared that in the current crisis a change of faces is not enough —what is needed are political and social changes. Representatives of the coordinating committee of Slovak university students met workers from plants in Bratislava at the Academy for Performing Arts. All those who spoke at the meeting identified themselves with the stand of the students but, as some of them stressed on several occasions, they themselves on their own cannot represent the views of whole enterprises and plants. In this connection the appearance of leading representatives of the most important enterprises in Slovakia on yesterday's television roundtable program provoked a great deal of indignation.

Meetings and rallies of working people have also taken place in many other locallities of our homeland and the limited space of this newscast does not permit us to name them all. Characteristic of the majority however, is disquite and disagreement with the personal changes carried out by the CPCZ Central Committee yesterday and the conviction of the participants in those meetings that they are inadequate given the current situation.

Adamec Rally Speech 26 Nov

LD2611160589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1315 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Speech by Premier Ladislav Ademec at Civic Forum rally in Letna in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends, esteemed fellow citizens, I would like to thank the organizers of this rally for an invitation.

As I already said yesterday on television, I am glad to explain my views and listen to our public's demands at any place where there is an interest in finding common ways out. That is why I came to join you on the Letna plain.

This morning I took part in another round of talks with representatives of the Civic Forum, which included Brother Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and some leading officials of the organizations of the National Front. I do not wish to analyze in detail the course of the talks—also other participants in the talks will undoubtedly express their views on results. What do I see as the main contribution of this meeting? Above all, I see a better mutual understanding and outlining ways how to reach possible agreements. We agreed that the situation is really serious and what specific things we must do to calm it down.

I put forward a view that now there is no time for quarelling and prestige conflicts. People will judge us according to whether we manage to raise ourselves above the past and achieve unity on what the majority of citizens demand. I think that the appeal for responsibility met a favorable reception.

The federal government as well has in front of it a number of statements, resolutions and demands.

There are only hours to pass before the general strike. There are fears about what will be happening and what the strike will bring. That is why I suggested a joint search for a solution so that the strike would cause as little damage to our national economy as possible. I am glad that all participants in the talks expressed themselves in favor of the strike's protest political character.

Personally, I am convinced that in order to demonstrate a stance there is no need to strike for 2 hours—a few minutes are enough. [shouts of protest] I also prefer that the strike contributes as much as possible to the unification of citizens, contributes to national understanding.

What do I see as the purpose of the dialogue? We have to look for the things which unite us, to act without quarrelling and suspicion, to attempt to understand each other. We are united by our interest in resolving the crisis situation by political means. That is why the government is prepared.... [shouts of "I do not see it, I do not believe it"] That is why the government is prepared to hold talks with everybody who keeps his mind on the good of our country.

In the entire country there is an agreement existing about the need to speed up all reforms. To achieve this, there is the need to limit social tension as soon as possible, halt strikes and demonstrations. [shouts of protest]

Pushing through justified political demands must be in full harmony with the effort to improve our economic situation. I consider this to be the principal question.

Esteemed fellow citizens, at today's talks with representatives of the Civic Forum [shouts] we have discussed in detail the strikers' demands—some of them were addressed by yesterday's session of the government and many of them have already begun to be implemented.

I agree with the views that there is a need to carry on. However, not everything is in the powers of the federal government- -regarding some issues we have to wait for the decision of other organs, for example... .[interrupted by shouts of protest] For example, the Federal Assembly. I will acquaint today's session of the Central Committee with all the demands which I have received; and I will demand that the officials in charge occupy themselves with them as soon as possible.

We agreed on the date of our next meeting. We are going to meet again on Tuesday, late morning, and together will assess what was successfully achieved and what else is needed.

I would like to assure you, esteemed citizens, that the federal government is determined to satisfy all the demands within its powers and which are aimed at tackling rightly criticized shortcomings. I do believe that I will gain also your support for it.

Civic Forum's Maly, Others Address Rally 26 Nov

LD2611161789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1345 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Stanislav Benda continues report from Letna rally—live]

[Excerpt] The Letna rally has heard thanks many times over to students. It has heard demands for free elections and, at this moment, the Civic Forum's spokesman Vaclav Maly is explaining once again the Civic Forum's attitude to the declared general strike, which is to take place between 1200 and 1400. Nontheless, as he has reiterated just now, it is up to each work place, each strike committee to decide how long this general strike- - which is to express solidarity and is to be symbolic—is to last and what scope should be devoted to it, depending on the specific conditions of each work place, because as he has said they want a dialogue and therefore they cannot dictate their demands unequivocally. Let us listen to what is being said from the main platform.

[First unidentified speaker] To members of the coordinating student strike committee....[chants]

[Second unidentified speaker] Friends, the General Prosecutor has informed us just now that the action of 17 November has been found disproportionate and disproportionately harsh. [shouts from the crowd] There is a suspicion that in individual cases, 12 at this moment, criminal acts were committed. The matter has been handed over to the Office of the Military Prosecutor, which will assess the degree of criminal responsibility. [shouts from the crowd] We however continue to insist on the establishment of a parliamentary commission in which students would also be represented and which will supervise the course and outcome of the investigation. [shouts] Following an agreement with Prime Minister Adamec, amendments to certailn laws will be submitted within one week, for instance, the law on petition, association, and assembly. [shouts] The viewpoints of students and their independent advisers will be respected. [shouts]

[Third unidentified speaker] Friends, students, we demand that officials who have been compromised withdraw from public life. [shouts] We link with this demand the necessity to invalidate immediately [the document] "Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development" [shouts), which up to now has distorted the curriculum in our schools. [shouts] We students woke up and became conscious of our strength, but this is only the beginning, for we have not yet won. The struggle continues. [chants]

[Fourth unidentified speaker] I still feel that you have not yet warmed up properly. Perhaps the speech made by the Prime Minister has spoiled your mood. [shouts] I am telling you in advance, these will not be easy talks but have confidence in us, we shall not sell you out. [shouts and chants, including "Long live the Forum"]

[Fifth unidentified speaker] Yes, we need this support. Our endeavor cannot be isolated from the endeavor of various groups of democrats in the neighboring states. You will surely remember well that on 21 August this year our Hungarian friends came to Prague to lend us their support. One of them, who was arrested, has now come to see us once again and would like to address us. He is Gyoergy Kerenyi, a representative of the independent Hungarian trade unions and small alliances. [shouts] [passage omitted]

Dubcek Addresses Rally

LD2611171489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1511 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Speech by Alexander Dubcek at Letna rally in Prague on 26 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Alexander Dubcek spoke on Letna Plain in Prague this morning. At the same time, he was speaking we were broadcasting dispatches from our foreign correspondents in which they reported how the current internal political situation in Czechoslovakia was being assessed by local media. We are, however, able to bring you Alexander Dubcek's speech now from a recording.

[Begin Dubcek recording] Before coming to Prague I spoke in Bratislava. Here in Prague, which as you know I love very much, I spoke twice. Today I want to address myself to you with several remarks.

I would like to tell you that this period is still very complicated, since very many urgent problems will have to be tackled. They include not only those which are concentrated in the Civic Forum—which are the main and decisive ones. There exist many proposals that have come from below, from where our people live. There exist many problems that must be tackled. I would like to tell you—precisely because we are living in a complicated and turbulent time, which demands the resolution of many key things, and we have been told on many occasions during these past few days, and indeed months, of the need for calm, and calm, and calm. Voices in this vein have been raised.

I believe that the Czechoslovak people are very educated and cultured. This culture comes from below—from workers, farmers—up to the Academy of Sciences. We are a cultured and educated nation. This is why the development that is going on in our country today will proceed, and indeed is proceeding, on a high cultural level, that there is unity right from below up to this platform, including those who are not here. [Chants of "Dubcek"]

Because there are many problems that need to be tackled, as has already been said from this platform, we need to have the right attitude to the resolution of these problems. But the time is such that we cannot go about in theaters, workshops or somewhere in private as if there was calm inside us.

The time is not peaceful and therefore there cannot be peace which would evoke in us some attenuation, a peace which would halt this great people's move. [people cheering] And, namely because in this great people's move the people are united from the bottom to the top—I would say all civic initiatives, including former CPCZ reformist members who were expelled—it is the guarantee that in the future our development can progress very well.

Peace, peace would mean only the halting of this so-promisingly developing progress. [People shouting: "Dubcek"]

Peace, peace in the sense which we understand as attenuation or halting these things in this period, cannot have such a character. Why? Because there is a need to move forward all the time, and without stopping. [cheering]

Twenty-one years ago we embarked on the path to connecting socialism and democracy. This was expressed by a slogan: "Socialism with a human face." Soldiers of the five armies suppressed this movement.

For 20 years [chanting], 20 years, we have been living in humiliating conditions—the Husak and Jakes leadership of the party and the state has worked out—and what is remarkable—that for 20 years they have been defending the detrimental—for our nation—so much unwished, non-popular policy [chanting]. This is why I tell you, no matter what a difficult time we live in, no matter what you think about me—I shall tell you that I am glad that on this platform today there is also Premier Adamec—I shall tell you why: I shall remind you of one thing, I have worked in such structures, where there is—where a struggle is being waged which is to bring some new changes. And in order that you can understand what I mean—what the situation can be like there when, after the resignation of the entire CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Stepan comes again to the presidium—this is a complex time [chanting]. I am saying this also in order to explain that many great issues have not been solved and cannot yet be solved because they have been stifled by the political leadership, so to speak. The political leadership has not allowed the executive organs enough scope to solve these issues. [chanting] Yesterday I told you that Poland and Hungary have apologized to our people for the military intervention into the situation in the CPCZ and the affairs of our society. Together with you I ask from this platform—how much longer are our people to wait for a similar step to that of Hungary and Poland to be made also by the GDR, Bulgaria but also, by the main participant—the Soviet Union!?

Our people want to achieve their truth without a further delay. In our view, this must be done as one of its first steps also by the CPCZ Central Committee—part ways with it once and for all. [crowd roars]

To end my speech, I would like to make two small remarks. The first one is a personal one. I would like to say, and I think that this is the reflection of this entire popular movement: Let those who up to now were, and continue to be, a brake on the process of renewal quit the CPCZ Central Committee, the government and Federal Assembly. [roar of approval and chants of "resign"]

The second remark is an informative one. I would like to announce to you that on 26 November 1989, that means today, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU, wrote in the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA: "The main aim of the policy of restructuring is to build socialism with a human face." I believe that this is sufficient. [crowd roars and chants]

I beg you, I still have another remark to make on these lists of paper which I have here for this improvised speech. Since we are here concentrated on this plain, I would like to say that we must not forget those people who are in our villages and other towns. Without free communities there is no free state. Without the freedom of an individual there is no free society. This is our credo.

And lastly on your address, the last remark: Your fathers and mothers 21 years ago raised the voice of their truth, the right of the people and the right of liberty. Today it has been you, the youth, who have raised this banner. This is why we are in such a unity. Thank you for this initiative. You have the support in us older fathers and mothers. [crowd roars] [end recording]

21 Nov Party Press Coverage of Unrest

AU2211172389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 November devotes the following items to the current unrest in the country, in addition to its report on party leader Milos Jakes' meeting with the leadership of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, correspondents' reports on demonstrations in Prague, the situation in the coal mining districts, and demonstrations in Brno, as well as statements issued by Czechoslovak organizations and institutions on the latest events in the country:

On page 1, it carries a 200-word report on the 20 November session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium and the 600-word joint statement by the CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments. This statement is published under the headline "Dialogue Yes, Confrontation No." Also on the front page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word Vaclav Pergl report on his interviews with party members in the Prague CKD-locomotives plant on the current situation. Some of these workers express critical views about "higher party bodies."

Blacksmith Josef Berdych, for example, is quoted as having said: "We workers had several times called the attention of the higher party bodies to shortcomings in ideological work, to formalism in the implementation of some party resolutions, and to the fact that they rarely come among us. It is as though they did not hear our voice because nothing has changed." Turner Ladislav Pudil says that "the current political situation in Prague must not be underestimated, which should also be realized by the party's Central Committee." He goes on to say that party members must be "mobilized into action" and that they must be given an explanation about "what is happening at universities and about what the strikers actually want. We must conduct a dialogue with them, for if we do not do so, someone else will do it for us. And we will be the losers. So far there has been order in our country. And today? The young generation, the future intelligentsia, will one day take the management of the socialist society into its hands. Are we preparing it well for this mission?" Bricklayer Ladislav Rudolf acknowledges that not the street but the National Front should serve as the platform for discussions. He adds, however, that "because of its inflexibility, young people do not accept the National Front." Milos Bartos, chairman of the youth union organization in the plant, says that "young people see what is happening in the states around us and are not satisfied with the pace of restructuring in our country. They also see how much corruption there is in our society, how comfortably some people live who do not work, and they also see that one often only stands by and watches this and does not draw the appropriate conclusions. This makes some people distrust restructuring. I think that the party, too, is not united. The former 'recruitment' into its ranks is now backfiring. This is documented by the passivity of some members." Worker Josef Gelner tells Pergl that "society will move forward when younger, energetic people stand at its head. In my opinion, this also applies to the Presidium and the plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. There should be a greater number of workers in these bodies, especially in the plenum."

Also on the front page, under the headline "We Want Peace and Order," RUDE PRAVO carries resolutions that have been addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee by party and other organizations from various parts of the country. All these resolutions, which total about 700 words, are critical of the demonstrations, stressing, as one of these resolutions states, that "the aim of these provocations is not to improve people's lives, to democratize society, and to perfect socialism, but to bring about social chaos." Communists from the United Steel Works Kladno, for example, "reject street demonstrations, whose aim is to undermine public order and destabilize society." At the same time they "demand of representatives of the supreme bodies that they speedily tackle the accumulated problems." Members of the CPCZ District Committee Presidium in Bruntal "voice full support for measures aimed at maintaining discipline and order" and call for the use of "all legal forces and means to prevent the activity of groups which seek the liquidation of socialism in our country." They also "condemn the influencing of parts of our public by standpoints such as those adopted by the editorial offices of MLADA FRONTA and SVOBODNE SLOVO on 20 November." The resolution adopted by the participants in a meeting of the North Moravian Regional Committee in Ostrava notes their "outrage at the abuse of students and artists."

Another item concerning the events of the last few days published on RUDE PRAVO's front page is a 200-word letter by two workers from Pribram, in which they protest against the cancellation of the 18 November performance in their local theater. They say: "It is clear to us that this was an organized attempt to stir up emotions. Who is to be served by this? We do not want unrest and difficulties, such as those in Poland, for example. There, too, it all started in a similar way."

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word commentary by Jana Perglerova entitled "Is It Not High Time To Show Reason?," in which she calls for a "calm discussion" and criticizes the "emotional articles of some newspapers, such as SVOBODNE SLOVO or MLADA FRONTA."

Also on page 2, under the headline "Once Again on the Friday [17 November] Events," RUDE PRAVO carries an 800-word Karel Walter interview with two policemen who were involved in the suppression of the 17 November demonstration. The interview is preceded by an introduction, which mentions that in the course of

Monday (20 November), the RUDE PRAVO editorial office received many phone calls contending that the RUDE PRAVO account of the demonstration, published in its 20 November issue, "does not correspond to reality." This is reportedly why RUDE PRAVO requested two members of the National Security Corps, Lieutenant Stanislav Mares and First Lieutenant Vladislav Vavra, to provide their own eyewitness accounts of the events of 17 November.

Mares reports that after the commemorative act in Vysehrad cemetery, some participants in the 17 November rally decided to move into the center of the city. During this procession, he continues, "slogans were heard attacking the socialist system, leading CPCZ representatives, the government, and so forth. When law enforcement units closed access to Wenceslas Square from Narodni Trida, the response was whistling, jeering, and offensive exclamations such as 'Jakes' 'Gestapo' and the like." Vavra adds that the crowd's reaction became "particularly aggressive" when it was announced that the law enforcement unit would intervene, unless the calls for dispersal were heeded.

The policemen also respond to the claims of "some newspapers" (ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY) that the demonstrators had nowhere to escape. Mares says that the National Security Corps members spent about 50 minutes warning the demonstrators that the rally was illegal, during which time they were able to leave in any direction. In his opinion "it was obvious that some of them wanted to provoke a clash at any price." This was shown, he says, by their slogans such as "Stop being afraid," "There are more of us," or "Our hands are not empty."

Asked to respond to the "protests against what is being described as the brutality, cruelty, and inadequacy of the intervention," Mares agrees that "the action was harsh," but adds that it was caused by the "excessive aggressiveness of the mob," manifested in bottle throwing and by attacks on the police corps with iron rods and stones. In spite of this, he says, only truncheons—and not tear gas or water cannons—were used by the police.

Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word "jc"-signed article entitled "It Happened in the Subway." The article tells the story of 62-year-old J.P. from Prague who was reportedly beaten up by a youngster in the Prague subway, after expressing his disapproval of the students' strike. "jc" concludes his article by saying: "Although we do not claim that the majority of participants in the demonstrations behaves like this young man, his reaction to the expression of a dissenting view is a warning, to say the least...."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 600-word article by Jan Lipavsky entitled "A Conversation Near the House of Children." In the article the author describes his conversation with a group of secondary school students participating in the demonstrations in the center of Prague. Asked about their motives, the students reply that they came "to make sure that the events on Friday are not forgotten" and that they are "thoroughly investigated." The conversation continues: "[Lipavsky] If I understand you correctly, you do not trust state bodies [to investigate the affair].

"Following a moment of embarrassed silence, one of them says: When the whole affair gets on the parliament's agenda and the deputies demand that the minister of interior says and proves that the intervention was within the framework of the law, there will be no reason not to have trust. And if it turns out that this was not the case, then someone should bear the consequences, right?

"[Lipavsky] Fine, but why do you not raise this issue in your school, in your youth union organization, for example?

"I notice in their eyes something like astonishment and a smile all in one. I am told that such things are not being 'vented' on the school grounds, especially when reservations about the central agencies are involved. 'One would be suspected of being opposed to socialism,' I am told."

Summing up his impressions, Lipavsky says that dialogue with young people is possible and necessary in order to gain their confidence and "so that they have no reason to chase democracy in the streets."

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 1,400-word roundup of correspondents' reports entitled "Foreign Press on the Situation in Czechoslovakia." RUDE PRAVO correspondents in Bonn, Washington, London, Paris, and Warsaw criticize the Western and Polish press for continuing to "speculate" about the death of student Martin Smid in Prague and failing to report that the "supposedly dead Martin Smid spoke on Czechoslovak Television on Sunday [19 November]." The media of these countries are criticized for basing their reports solely on dissident sources. The Berlin correspondent, on the other hand, reports that the GDR media quote CTK reports and Frantisek Pitra's television address.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 250-word "kov"-signed commentary entitled "A Killed Student? Yes, in the FRG." The commentator takes issue with the West German press for devoting much space to the alleged death of a Czechoslovak student in Prague while mostly ignoring the death of a 24-year-old student in Goettingen, FRG, on 17 November, who was "driven under the wheels of a passenger car" during a police crackdown on demonstrators protesting against neo-Nazis.

Some items carried by RUDE PRAVO (CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Government statements, correspondents' reports on demonstrations, interviews with CKD workers, resolutions of party organizations) are published in identical form also by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 21 November. In addition, on page 2, PRAVDA carries a 700-word CTK report on the situation at universities in Prague, Bratislava, and Olomouc, where a 1-week strike is being observed and on

a "peaceful march" by some 3,000 students through the streets of Bratislava on 20 November. According to the report, the Bratislava students addressed a letter to the CSSR Premier demanding investigation into the "violent action" against Prague demonstrators on 17 November as well as "timely and truthful information on all domestic political events."

All statements by "the working people and party organizations" carried by Bratislava PRAVDA express a negative attitude to the demonstrations.

20 Nov Prague Developments Reported

AU2211184689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

["(CG)" and "(ADA)"-signed report: "Prague—20 November"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondents)—Our republic's capital city experienced a dramatic day on Monday. During the afternoon, approximately 150,000 people—mostly university and secondary school students and others, particularly the young—gathered on Wenceslas Square. They were mainly under the influence of emotions exacerbated by reports about the intervention made on Friday [17 November] by law enforcement units against an unauthorized demonstration on streets in central Prague and under the impression of false reports about the death of one of the participants.

The demonstrators carried banners and chanted slogans expressing their disagreement with Friday's intervention by law enforcement units and calling for the resignation of individual representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership and the government. Slogans such as "Down with the CPCZ," "We want a coalition government," "Free elections," "Now or never," and so on were chanted.

According to a CTK report, Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM], addressed the gathering from the base of the statue of St. Wenceslas. He informed participants of the contents of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat's statement and replied to questions.

Around 1700, the procession made its way to Narodni Trida. From the National Theater, it then proceeded to Krasnoarmejcu Square. It crossed Manes Bridge to Mala Strana where law enforcement units blocked its way. The demonstrators then set out for Staromestske Square where they hung up banners appealing for political pluralism. Some of them then went back toward Wenceslas Square. Around 2000, a sizable group assembled in front of the Czechoslovak Radio building on Vinohradska Trida. After 2200, calm prevailed once more in the CSSR capital city.

On Monday, a students' strike was called at Prague's colleges. During the strike, some departments were occupied by students. Gatherings were organized in many departments where demands for political reforms as well as appeals for a general strike reverberated throughout.

According to reports from the Education Department in the Prague National Committee, there was also no teaching at some secondary schools on Monday.

The testimony of some pupils demonstrates that teaching at some schools was brought to an end by groups of youths who identified themselves as university students and who forced the pupils and teachers to join the strikes at the universities.

Student strikes were also called in some other cities. Demonstrations took place in Bratislava, Liberec, Ostrava, Olomouc, and several other cities.

Discussions With Theater Workers

On Monday morning, representatives from the CPCZ City Committee, the Prague National Committee, and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] met with the directors, chairmen of the CPCZ primary organization and the ROH enterprise committee, and other members of artistic groups from Prague theaters operated by the Prague National Committee. The subject of the discussions was the situation that arose after the events of 17 November. There were no performances on Saturday [18 November] and not one Prague theater was open on Sunday [19 November]. Instead of performances, a statement was read out from an aktiv of theater workers who had joined the university students' week-long strike.

Josef Hajek, deputy mayor, opened the meeting and, among other things, expressed his opinion on the demands made in the above-mentioned statement. He said that the situation is grave and that normal theater operation would contribute to calming it down. The strained atmosphere of these days requires, first and foremost, level-headedness. Succumbing to any kind of emotions is erroneous and merely pours oil on the fires.

A discussion followed. Right at the very beginning, the theater workers aired the view that, first of all, they will reach an agreement among themselves and then will meet for talks with their administrator, that is, with the Prague National Committee. Despite this point of view, which made mutual agreement impossible, the discussion continued.

Demands to prevent a similar situation being repeated were expressed in other discussions. Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, later appreciated the fact that talks are being held in this situation and that points of view are being clarified. He also commented that theatergoers like creative and responsible work from theater workers and, therefore, it would be in society's interest if the theaters were open. It

is necessary to realize that the theater is not a private matter. After all, it is difficult to resolve something in a strained atmosphere. The intention of the deliberately false announcement of a student's death was to create a parallel between 1939 and 1989 with the aim of causing chaos in this country. The party does not have a truncheon program but a program of positive work.

Anxiety about young people's perceptions was made clear in other views; after all, the majority of participants are also parents. Responsibility was emphasized while making all decisions affecting the young generation. In this regard, unbelievable reports were discussed about the effect that some actors have had on the youngest theatergoers, actors who justified the interruption of performances with the claim that a student had been murdered. They did this at a time when the report had been reliably refuted.

According to information from directors, strike committees have been set up in the majority of theaters. These committees want to make decisions on the fate of theaters. At the end of the meeting, it was decided that the theater management will continue discussions with the administrators in the next few days.

An Aktiv Involving Chairmen of Prague Party Organizations

"We want peace to work but, at the same time, we demand timely and not contradictory information about the events taking place these days." These words could be heard at Monday's aktiv where the chairmen of party organizations from important Prague enterprises met with officials from the CPCZ City Committee. Personal as well as working collective and party organization opinions were aired here. On Monday morning, aktivs were convened in many plants and enterprises.

"We worked as usual. Finally, after 3 years, we have a chance to come to terms with our tasks; there is no time for emotions," said M. Zdarek from Avie. "Some teachers did not go into the schools but matters were eventually explained. However, opinions are being sorted out among people. Some are condemning the abuse of Friday's manifestation while others are condemning the law enforcement units' intervention."

"We need calm for our work, otherwise we will not guarantee the population's supplies," said V. Toman from Prague's bakeries and mills. In light of the fact that students work in the bakeries as brigade workers, there are fears that they will not come to work. Therefore, they want to request assistance from members of the armed forces.

"A letter addressed to the Federal Premier demanding that the security forces' intervention be investigated is circulating among us. It is being signed both by nonparty members and by some party members," said M. Fridrichova from the Kotva department store. "Two students from the Film Academy came to us, apparently as members of a strike committee, and asked if they could use our radio to read out a strike call. We did not allow this. We want to guarantee the department store's smooth operation and to make sure that people can shop in peace."

M. Vlach from TOS [Machine Tool Factory] Hostivar spoke about the working people's collective opinion on the necessity of further constructing socialism. However, there are different opinions on the method of intervention against the demonstrators. He also pointed out that reference should not only be made to the law enforcement units' approach, which dealt with the consequences, but also to the causes and accompanying phenomena which led to this situation.

Opinions differed here. However, the point of view was fundamental. The aktiv's participants expressed this clearly: Chaos and emotions will not supply our market with goods, therefore, it is impossible to support any strikes.

Comrade Miroslav Stepan stated that confusion, chaos, and uncertainty are not on the party's program. When he spoke about Friday's events, he stressed that they did not happen by chance and that it would be a mistake to associate them only with the young generation. Young people did not think up the antistate and antiparty slogans—these are imported.

Prague Radio Reports Student Strike

LD2311005389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] University students in Plzen who are on strike organized a 1-hour rally this afternoon in front of the state theater. They stated that they will continue their strike until their 12 demands are fulfilled.

There was a rally today on the Ceske Budejovice campus in which students of the two colleges participated—the faculty of agronomy of the Agriculture College and the faculty of pedagogics. After the meeting concluded, student representatives declared that they demand unity on their entire cultural front, unity with the working class. It must be based on the democratization of all aspects of life.

With the exception of the Military Faculty of medicine of the Jan Evangelista Purkyn, strikes continued today at the other three colleges in Eastern Bohemia. Students met their teachers at a number of rallies where they discussed the internal political situation. Students were seen not only involved in discussions in lecture halls but also in voluntary work in Hradec Kralove and Pardubice.

Classes at colleges in the East Slovakian region were cancelled today and students formed a central strike committee.

Statements, Resolutions on Prague Events

AU2311140789 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Nov 89 p 3

["(LD)"-signed roundup of statements: "Indignation and Legitimate Demands"]

[Text] After the events at the end of last week, especially after the intervention made by order enforcement units against the peaceful student demonstration on 17 November, an unprecedented wave of public activity has swelled up. The universities have decided to strike; theaters are not playing; and, yesterday, public discussions and assemblies continued in various parts of Prague. We are publishing our staff journalists' accounts of yesterday's events.

Students in Prague began a week-long protest strike yesterday. Why did they choose this extreme measure? The statement issued by Prague University students, a statement approved by representatives of the strike committees, declares, among other things: "After the events of 17 November 1989, we see no other way of expressing our disagreement and alarm at the current internal political situation in our country". The strike is associated, inter alia, with the following demands: The students demand that an independent Federal Assembly investigative commission be set up with the participation of representatives from the university students' strike committees and representatives from the citizens' initiatives. They demand that the public be continually and truthfully informed about the student strike taking place. They further demand that their statement be discussed in a live television broadcast with the participation of representatives from the student strike committees. They insist that these demands be fulfilled before 26 November 1989. In another part of their statement, the students demand the eventual punishment of those responsible for unleashing the Prague massacre as well as of those who directly carried it out. Their names and positions should be made public. At the same time, they demand publication of the true testimony of eye witnesses, the publication of photographs, and the publication of information on the state of the victims' medical condition. They demand the immediate release of all political prisoners and an end to the persecution of the unjustly accused and the commencement of effective dialogue with all elements of society without exception.

We demand—declares the Prague students' statement—that the right of assembly guaranteed by the Constitution not be rendered impossible by procedural regulations. At the end of their statement, they appeal to all citizens who are not indifferent to the situation in our country to manifest their will by taking part in a general strike on 27 November 1989 from 1200 to 1400.

Students Appeal to Workers and Farmers

Yesterday representatives from the university strike committees in Prague approved a University Students' Proclamation to CSSR Workers and Farmers. Among other things, the proclamation declares: "Please realize that this was not only an intervention against students but was also an intervention against your children, children from workers' and farmers' families.... We appeal to you, the workers and farmers who create material essentials by your everyday work, to consider our society's grave moral, ecological, economic, and political problems. As long as there is no radical reform in our economic and political life, these problems will multiply into a profound crisis that will not only affect us directly but will also affect your standard of living and prospects.

"Therefore, we are turning to you because we are not only considering our problems but also the many things to which we officially half close or completely close our eyes, things that it is impossible to even enumerate. We are thinking about workers who work under conditions insulting to human dignity in textile factories, in canning plants, in iron foundries, in mines, and elsewhere; about young families without apartments; about pensioners and all the socially weak and needy; about the obscenity of corruption and the shadow economy which no one and no sphere of national life can manage to avoid today; about the elite's undeserved privileges; about the neglected state of our education, health care, and environment; and about the insufficient opportunities to travel and have contact with the world.

"We turn to you to support the strike and our demands. You are aware of your own problems and, therefore, do not allow those with whom you do not agree to speak in your name." Prague University Students, 20 November 1989.

Meeting With Prague's Representatives

Yesterday, all of Prague's theaters had the same program, a program which differed only in that some collectives added their own declaration to the original statement issued by Czech theater workers. Their aim is, first and foremost, to prevent the public being misinformed and to call on theatergoers to discuss topical issues. M. Stepan, leading secretary of the Prague Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee; J. Hajek, Prague's deputy mayor; and other representatives from the capital's party and social organs held a meeting yesterday with the directors of Prague's theaters and with other representatives of Prague's ensembles. As J. Frehar—director of the Z. Nejedly Realistic Theater—informed us, the responsible organs had until 22 November to determine who is answerable for Friday's events and to draw conclusions from this. "The interim method of informing the public—including the appearance made by F. Pitra, Czech Socialist Republic premier—however, causes uneasiness and does not provide a guarantee that this demand will be met," said J. Frehar, "and the directors of Prague's theaters expressed this dissatisfaction at their meeting." J. Frehar pointed out that prior to 17 November (since 28 October) members of CPCZ primary organizations

had warned in theaters, on television, and so on that it is impossible to resolve the current social situation in a similar manner but, mostly, they did not get an answer.

According to J. Frehar, the directors of Prague's theaters cannot guarantee a normalization of the present situation until they receive an assurance that the same thing will not happen again. At the same time, J. Frehar pointed out that a contradiction could arise between uninformed public opinion and artistic workers. Therefore, the directors of Prague's theaters proposed that a roundtable be established on Czechoslovak Television where the theater artists' points of view could be explained in more detail. "Prague theater workers cannot alter anything in their stance to date as long as fundamental issues are not dealt with," said J. Frehar. During the meeting at Prague's National Committee, other theater representatives gathered in the Theater on the Balustrade and set up an interim coordinating strike committee which will function until each group elects its own members and representatives to it.

Secondary School Students Join In

On Monday, almost all Prague secondary schools and the majority of secondary industrial and economic schools joined in the protest strike organized by university students and teachers. Strike committees were established in individual schools, committees whose task is not only to manage the strike and to propagate the views which secondary school students stand for, but also to organize a so-called alternative strike program. For example, during the day, discussions took place between students and teachers or meetings were held with Prague theater actors. In some schools—for example, at the applied arts secondary school or at the federal industrial school of communications technology—meetings were held during the early morning hours, at which students placed lighted candles and flowers next to the Czechoslovak flag.

Public's Representative: Civic Forum

On Sunday evening in Prague's Drama Club, Civic Forum was established as the mouthpiece of that part of the Czechoslovak public which is more and more critical of the Czechoslovak leadership's policy and which has been deeply shocked in recent days by the brutal massacre of peacefully demonstrating students. Representatives of the so-called illegal structures, that is, for example, Charter 77, the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, independent students, and other organizations came together on platforms with some members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Church, creative unions, former and present CPCZ members, and other democratic citizens. Civic Forum issued a proclamation in which it stated that it feels itself qualified to immediately hold talks with the state leadership about the critical situation in our country, to express the public's topical demands, and to discuss their resolution. Civic Forum wants to initiate this dialogue by discussing urgent requirements, requirements being more and more openly formulated by the general public. These requirements have been reduced to four points.

Civic Forum places all its authority behind the idea of a general strike on 27 November from 1200 to 1400, a strike called by Prague students, and views this as an expression of support for the above-mentioned demands.

Civic Forum is open to all elements and forces in Czechoslovak society who are interested in ensuring that our country begins to seek a path toward a democratic social system and, thus, toward economic prosperity.

Believers' Points of View

Yesterday morning, two letters addressed to L. Adamec, CSSR premier, were sent to the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. Their senders—the Union of Czech Brethren Synod, which took place 16-18 November in Prague (at the same time as the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren Synod), and the Council of Elders from the Union of Czech Brethren Prague Congregation—were deeply disturbed by accounts and by direct experience of the brutal intervention made against the peaceful demonstration in Prague on 17 November. The letters demand an end to all violence and that society's problems and crises be resolved jointly in a democratic manner with representatives of other views.

Student representatives from the Roman Catholic Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Divinity in Litomericeb yesterday came to our editorial office and familiarized us with the text of a protest addressed to L. Adamec. They support the Prague students' demand that a government commission be set up to investigate Friday's events. They emphasized that they are driven by a humanitarian and Christian responsibility for what is happening around us and because they still feel themselves to be students of Charles University, although this historic right has been denied them. They accompany their protest with prayers for reconciliation, peace, and justice.

Statement by Employees of Publishing Houses

Representatives from many of Prague's publishing houses yesterday held a meeting in the auditorium at the Albatros publishing house, the children's and young people's publishing house. The representatives adopted a joint statement by publishing house employees which declares, among other things, that the bloody and terrorizing intervention made by the City Committee Emergency Regiment was directed against the young generation, against university students, and against young working people. We are convinced that by their action the students have shown they are not indifferent to the future of our society and the course of restructuring. The statement is signed, among others, by employees from the Odeon, Albatros, Vysehrad, SNTL, and other publishing houses.

Graphic Artists' Appeal

Graphic artists yesterday adopted a statement on the events of 17 November 1989, in which they demand an immediate end to repression, an investigation into the brutal intervention made against students, action against those responsible for this intervention, and an immediate statement by the government and the CPCZ on the above-mentioned events. In light of the gravity of the situation, the graphic artists call upon the leadership of the Union of Czech Creative Artists and of the Czech Fund for the Creative Arts to join the students' and theater workers' strike by closing all galleries and exhibition areas until further notice.

Public's Response

In connection with the events of 17 November, petitions, statements, and open letters expressing fundamental disagreement with the armed units' course of action against the students' peaceful demonstration have been handed into our editorial office. They also contain demands for the further program of our society's democratization, for the accelerated discussion of all problems associated with restructuring, and for a statement by state organs on the events of recent days. Because we cannot publish the names of all organizations, strike committees, colleges, and secondary schools, let us name at least some of them. "We raise our voices against injustice and violence and we categorically condemn the armed units' repeated repressive interventions against peaceful gatherings.... We raise our voices because there are no guarantees that similar acts of violence will not occur in the future. We are interrupting all our concert activity as a protest against the brutal events.... Czech Philharmonic Orchestra." Other protests came from the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] City Committee Presidium; the Prague SSM City Council of University Students Presidium; employees of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Physical Sciences Institute, Prague; students from the secondary school on Stepanska Street; members of the Union of Czech Graphic Artists Central Committee; Charles University Faculty of Pedagogical Medicine; members of the J. Wolker Theater; graphic artists; Prague colleges' strike committee; Prague theater workers; and others.

Artists Among Students

Students of all four faculties at the Economics College yesterday approved a statement which demanded, among other things, that the culprits of Friday's violent intervention on Narodni Trida be punished, that an effective dialogue be initiated with all elements of society, and that complete and objective reports be published on contemporary events. Representatives of the college's authorities, which fully supported the students' strike, also spoke at the students' meeting. G. Vranova and M. Moravec, invited representatives of Prague's actors, were greeted in the crowded auditorium with stormy applause. They urged the students to remain united, to keep a level head, and to maintain the dignity and standard of all acts of protest. "It is necessary to thoroughly warn the leading representatives of this state that millions of people, several generations, and the life of our nation are involved. During the most difficult moments of Friday evening, some young people shouted: "Fathers, where are you? Do not be afraid, we are here," said M. Moravec. In conclusion, G. Vranova quoted Y. Yevtushenko's words: "Tell children the truth so that they cannot reproach us for what we are." At the end of the meeting, the majority of the participants went to Wenceslas Square to take part in the demonstration under way there.

Statement by Czech Film Artists

Among other things, the statement says: We, members of the Czech Theater, Film, and Television Artists Union, as well as other film industry employees, critics, and journalists demand that an independent commission be established to thoroughly and objectively investigate the sadistic interventions made by order enforcement units. We demand the immediate resignation and punishment of all those responsible for Friday evening's dreadful deeds. However, we realize that the roots of the problems lie much deeper, are associated with the CPCZ's groundless monopoly on power, and the absence of democratic principles in our society. We call for the immediate resignation of all CPCZ officials and government members who bear outright responsibility for the decline in all spheres of social life and for the current critical situation. We turn to all employees in the cinematography, film industry, distribution, and theory and criticism spheres to support the idea of a general strike on 27 November 1989 from 1200 to 1400. At the same time, we urge all directors and other film crew members to immediately suspend all work on film projects with the exception of news bulletins. We call upon all regional film enterprises and cinema authorities to stop showing films throughout the whole republic and, with our help, to familiarize audiences with the text of this statement and, as the case may be, to hold a dialogue with them about the most important problems of the current acute situation.

The directors M. Zabransky and J. Jires have stopped filming.

From Statement by Group of Journalists

A group of journalists met on 19 and 20 November to evaluate the situation that culminated in the events on Prague's streets on 17 November. At the same time, an official group was set up to establish an independent journalists' association. This gathering adopted a statement which, among other things, says: We turn to citizens of the whole of our republic. We reject the brutal intervention against the demonstrators. We demand that an independent investigative commission be set up. We sympathize with the statement issued by the university and theater artists' strike committees. We condemn interventions made against our own and foreign journalist colleagues. We demand the possibility of legalizing

publication of an independent press, the release of all imprisoned journalists, and the renewal of the professional and civil statutes of the journalists persecuted after the arrival of Warsaw Pact troops in 1968. We demand that discussions on the amendment to the press and publishing law be suspended and that it be submitted for public consideration not only by journalists but by the whole of society. We reject on principle one party's leading role and, therefore, we demand the removal of the appropriate article from the CSSR Constitution. We demand that free, direct, equal, and secret elections be held next year. We unequivocally support the newly established Civic Forum. Therefore, we support the proposal to call a general strike on 27 November from 1200 to 1400 and we are resolved to report on this event truthfully. We demand that the Czechoslovak Journalists' Association leadership supports our point of view and, in the contrary situation, that it resign immediately." The gathering of journalists expressed its disappointment at the government's evaluation of the arguments for the intervention against the students' demonstration.

Krenz Congratulates CPCZ's Urbanek

LD2611105489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0943 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a "time which is extremely complicated for our parties," Egon Krenz has wished new CPCZ General Secretary, Karel Urbanek, "success in the struggle to come to grips with the revolutionary tasks to strengthen socialism in the CSSR. The traditional solidarity and the close, trusting cooperation between the two parties will from now on be able to be deepened successfully on a new basis. Thus, at the same time, we are in accordance with the great expectations of the citizens in a profitable cooperation between the two neighboring countries," it says in the letter from the Socialist Unity of Germany general secretary.

Berlin Protestors Demand CSSR Reforms

LD2611181189 Hamburg DPA in German 1557 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A few dozen people demonstrated on Sunday outside the Prague Embassy in East Berlin for reforms in the CSSR. Banners called for "Free elections for the GDR and CSSR," "Solidarity with the CSSR people." Representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SDP] recalled the year 1968 when soldiers from the GDR, as well, marched into the neighboring country. In a statement by SDP members, the GDR Government is being requested "to officially apologize to the Czechoslovak people for the injustice inflicted on it."

Free German Youth Chairman Resigns

LD2411184689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Free German Youth [FDJ] Chairman Aurich, together with the majority of Central Council secretaries, resigned today. He explained this step at the meeting with objective causes. In his report, as well as in the discussions, the lack of a concept by the FDJ leadership was shown. Calls for the immediate election of a new leader were rejected. Instead it has become plain that many in the FDJ leadership have still not recognized the continuing danger of dissolution.

Council 'Releases' Members

LD2411214189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1946 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Today Frank Tuerkowsky was elected first secretary of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council at the body's 13th session after a secret ballot. [passage omitted]

Following his election, the new first secretary proposed the formation of working groups on the convocation of an extraordinary parliament, on the formulation of a new statute, and of a new action program for the FDJ. [passage omitted]

Earlier the Central Council co-opted or elected new members and released members and candidate members at their own request. Among those released from the Central Council in addition to Eberhard Aurich are Secretaries Guenter Bohn, Philipp Dyck, Alfred Gross, Martina Menzel, Wilfried Possner, Hans-Dieter Schuett, and Jochen Willerding, as well as Juergen Heinrich, Hans Sattler, and Gerd Schulz. At the suggestion of the Central Council Eberhard Aurich, Wilfried Possner and Hans-Dieter Schuett were honored with the Ernst Thaelmann Medal, the FDJ's highest honor.

The session will continue with the debate tomorrow and the election of the Central Council Bureau.

New Secretary Elected

LD2411194289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1830 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Frank Tuerkowskiy, hitherto first secretary of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Dresden Bezirk Executive, was elected new first secretary of the FDJ Central Council at the session today. One hundred and twelve votes were cast, 63 of which were cast for him. Thirty-four Central Council members voted for Andreas Dywicki, 15 for Ralf Wagner. Thus in the first secret ballot more than half voted for Frank Tuerkowsky.

FDJ Sees New Role

LD2611222189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Council of the GDR Youth Association, the FDJ [FRG German Youth], at the end of its session on Saturday, has convened the 13th FDJ Parliament for 16-18 February 1990. At the same time offers of discussion on all the youngsters of the country about the draft of a new statute as well as an action program were passed. In it the FDJ sees itself as a socialist, democratic, anti-fascist and nonpartisan organization, and no longer as the "helper and militant reserve of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany." It is interested in cooperating on an equal footing with all existing and incipient youth organizations and pressure groups on the basis of the GDR Constitution. The majority of the body was in favor of appealing to all FDJ members to join the human chain across the GDR on 3 December, organized by the Action as a Sign of Atonement [Aktion Suehnezeichen].

Dropping of FRG Visa Requirements Denied

LD2611170889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer today denied agency reports about a report in BILD newspaper (Monday edition), to the effect that next week the minimum exchange amount and the visa requirements for FRG citizens will be lifted. In reply to questions from Western journalists, he said: I can tell you that the next agreed official meeting on this

whole issue, which is, after all, a bilateral one, is being intensively prepared at present. During this period a number of ideas are being expressed as to how the travel fund can be resourced. As soon as there are results, the public will be informed about it.

10.3 Million Visas for Private Travel Issued

AU2611161089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "10.3 Million Visas Issued for Private Trips"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman of the Interior Ministry has announced that from 9 November to Monday morning [20 November] 0800 local time, 10,299,107 visas for private travel and 17,738 permits for permanent emigration were issued by the German People's Police.

Visitors to West Germany Drop 'Markedly'

LD2611095489 Hamburg DPA in German 0905 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Hanover (DPA)—The number of visitors from the GDR today has dropped markedly compared with yesterday. According to the Federal Border Protection Force Office in Brunswick, 14,086 visitors from the GDR crossed into Schleswig Holstein, Lower Saxony and Hesse between midnight and 0900. Yesterday several hundreds of thousands of visitors were registered.

Between yesterday and today, 992 people registered as resettlers at the Border Protection Force's transit camps and other official bodies.

Visits Drop 'Somewhat'

LD2711101989 Hamburg DPA in German 0949 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The stream of visitors from the GDR is ebbing somewhat: Until this morning, within 24 hours, 165,309 GDR citizens traveled to the FRG (not counting Berlin). According to information from the FRG Ministry of the Interior, only 855 of them no longer wish to return to their homeland.

Since 3 November, a total of 107,990 resettlers have been registered at the Federal Border Protection Service. During the weekend, 1.5 million GDR citizens took the opportunity of making a short visit, 30 percent fewer than on the previous Saturday and Sunday.

3 New Border Crossings to FRG Opened

LD2411230789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—Three new frontier crossing points opened today in the GDR's Suhl area. Thus with the Spechtsbrunn (Neuhaus am Rennweg District), Neuhaus-Schierschnitz (Sonneberg District), and Melpers (Meiningen District) crossing-points, so far nine crossing points are available for travel to the neighboring FRG Federal States of Bavaria and Hesse in the Southern Thuringian Area.

Frontier Troops Dismantle Fence at Lake Dassow

LD2711121489 Hamburg DPA in German 1200 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Luebeck (DPA)—GDR frontier troops today started to take down a barbed-wire fence near Luebeck-Schlutup. Until the opening of the intra-German frontier it was to prevent GDR citizens fleeing over Lake Dassow. A spokesman from the Federal Frontier Protection Service (BGS) stated in reply to questions that travellers have observed several hundred frontier soldiers taking down the fence.

"One traveler asked a GDR officer if he could take a piece of the barbed wire with him. He got it and brought it to me," the BGS spokesman in Schlutup said.

Krenz Visits Leipzig for Walking Tour

LD2511130289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1134 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Leipzigers and guests in the trade fair city this morning experienced a new kind of demonstration: Egon Krenz, GDR head of state and general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], walked through the city center passing the time of day. Whether in the Centrum department store where he turned up unannounced, or in the Petersstrasse or Hainstrasse, Egon Krenz had to answer many questions and shake many hands. People went up to him and wanted information. What does the future hold for Leipzig? Will the sad state of the GDR's economy be cured? Isn't the republic threatened with being sold out? Will those responsible for the problems be punished? Question upon question, but also shouts: "Egon carry on like this! We wish you good health!"

He gladly came to Leipzig, which is rich in traditions, because important impetus for the country's renewal has emanated from this city. He was asked why he did not come to the Monday demonstrations. He hoped Leipzigers would understand that he had chosen a work-free Saturday because preparations for the SED extraordinary party congress and his obligations as head of state had so far prevented him from visiting.

After his walk through the center of Leipzig and a visit to the old area of Connewitz, Egon Krenz visited Leipzig energy workers, who through their work see to it that light and warmth are produced around the clock in the GDR's second-largest city.

After his talks with the SED Leipzig city district secretaries in preparation for the extraordinary party congress, Egon Krenz on Saturday afternoon answered questions from journalists. In a statement he described his impressions delivered from the meetings with citizens

and from viewing large parts of the city. "I must say on the one hand I am deeply shocked and deeply impressed. Once again the whole extent to which Leipzig has been neglected by the center in past years has become apparent. The city itself is an expression of how much subjectivism there has been in our economic policy. It is now our, in particular the center's, responsibility to do something. On the other hand, I am impressed by the openness of the talks which I was able to conduct with the citizens, including the problems raised in the exchange of views which I had with them in the department store and on the street."

Egon Krenz told all SED members to tackle the renewal in the country with competence and serious intent. A party of the working class is essential for the life and the development in the GDR. The Communists would have to ensure that failures of past years will also be tackled with their strength and that of the whole country.

He said that he receives nearly 1,000 letters a day. Evaluation groups have been set up. Furthermore, the Central Committee has set up an information center to which many citizens are addressing their questions. His personal working style also includes direct contacts with citizens. He referred to the visit to the Bergmann-Borsig enterprise in Berlin and his meetings in Leipzig.

Krenz promised that he will be discussing with Prime Minister Modrow the difficult situation in Leipzig. He refused to make rash promises but he will look for ways and means to solve the problems.

Krenz emphasized that "never before" has it been "as clear to him as today that kind of signals emanated from Leipzig for our whole country, for the renewal of socialism, for this difficult stage which we face. But the meetings with the citizens of Leipzig today have also given me much hope and much courage. The openness of the talks was such that many constructive matters were contributed."

Further on Krenz

LD2511213189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] Egon Krenz was in Leipzig today. He went to the city center, visited the southern suburb of Connewitz, and spoke to workers. Reporters from Leipzig Radio were there, first of all at a discussion in the street:

[Reporter] One can say that no one in Leipzig knew ahead of time about the visit by Egon Krenz, but as soon as he appeared in the city center he was completely surrounded by people. Everyone had questions, and the GDR State Council chairman answered them patiently.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman] I also share the view that money must be available [words indistinct]. You can't go to Italy with GDR marks, you can't go on vacation to the West with GDR marks—you can't go on vacation anywhere with them. You know what prices are like for us.

[Krenz] Well, that was not one question, but 10 at once! But I can assure you of one thing: We will stick by what we have said. I cannot say of everything we did in the past whether it was good or bad, but what we have undertaken to do I can guarantee that we mean it quite honestly.

You know, there are two sides to everything. Since I have been living in Berlin, I have almost had to employ my wife as a second secretary, even though she has a regular job. Since I made my television address, I have been getting such a pile of mail that every evening or every night when I get home I have been doing a second shift. So there are two sides to everything, and I have never had any reason to defend Wandlitz [the area where senior party officials had their luxury villas], nor do I do so today—but I also have no reason to assume that anyone has removed anything from there.

[Unidentified man] Why don't you have a look at the outer suburbs of Leipzig while you are here and try to get back all the [word indistinct] workers? The former construction minister said he would try to bring back half of them. I think that the state of the city is so bad that we must put all our energy into it. And are there any special projects being decided on [words indistinct]? Something has to be done as quickly as possible, and you should use this time to see this regrettable situation yourself.

[Krenz] We'll have no more time if we [words indistinct]. We will have a look around the city and then afterward we wil have a talk with those in charge of this city and discuss what can be done to solve the urgent problems in Leipzig.

[Reporter] What did you think of the close, direct contact with the Leipzigers themselves?

[Krenz] I must say that I am not entirely unused to this sort of thing. But I must add that I have been given a lot of encouragement. The talks here in the city were very stimulating, and I heard a lot of requests to continue as we have been doing in our policy of renewal. I gave a promise to do all I can to analyze the problems of the past as sharply as possible and draw the necessary conclusions. I also promised to do all we can to implement what we have promised. No promise should be given which cannot be fulfilled.

[Reporter] What has this pre-Monday visit brought forward? That was what they wanted in Leipzig. [Monday evening has been the main day for demonstrating in Leipzig]

[Krenz] Well, Monday is a working day and I came on a day off! [end recording]

Verdicts Delivered Against Security Officers

LD2611125689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1119 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first verdict against members of the security forces who infringed rights and laws in connection with the 40th anniversary of the GDR has been pronounced. A series of demonstrators on 7 and 8 October had been called to account more quickly. The spokesman from the GDR State Prosecutor's Office, Dr Peter Przybilski, traced this back, in a statement given to ADN over the weekend, to the fact that immediately after the anniversary those responsible, from the person leading the investigations via the state prosecutor up to the judge, still were of the opinion that the demonstrators were marching against socialism.

Thus the view of the political reality was misplaced and the eyes had only been aimed at the formalities of the law, it says further. During the investigations against those people who, on the days in question had given civil rights a going-over with rubber clubs or had stamped on them, we were more or less left to our own devices. Here some prejudice had to be dispelled and even some resistance overcome in order to secure proof, without which there can be neither charges nor verdicts.

The GDR State Attorney's Office has told the People's Chamber that so far 76 enquiries have been started into such attacks. Further cases will be brought to court soon. However these are not such serious offenses as in the case in which the verdict was announced on 24 November. We also do not consider the sentence severe enough for the crime. For this reason the Berlin state prosecutor, Dr Dieter Simon has taken steps to see that a protest is lodged against the verdict of the Prenzlauer Berg Municipal Borough Court.

In 1968 most of the grounds for the charge of committing offenses while in office were overhastily removed from the criminal code—bodily harm, for example. In the meantime we have lost the illusion that servants of the state do not become criminals. The legislature should draw conclusions from this. In the meantime the GDR State Prosecutor's Office has put forward proposals on this.

State prosecutors, namely the Berlin state prosecutor, have recently been caught in the crossfire of public criticism. The accusation is made that the state prosecutors responsible did not concern themselves with the situation at the places where people were taken into custody and in which the attacks took place. We regret that there have been crude misunderstandings in this respect. Under current legislation the supervision of arrests and taking into custody does not come within the responsibility of the state prosecutor. Both are purely police matters, which are of course linked to legal prerequisites, the checking and observation of which comes under the authority of the senior People's Police officers responsible. However, as soon as we knew of violations of the law during arrests or while people were being taken into custody, we had the absolute obligation to intervene. And that is what happened. The assertion spread by the media on 23 November that the state prosecutors had not concerned themselves with what was happening in the room next door does not correspond to the facts. Such unjustified accusations are very burdensome to colleagues who are making efforts especially in Berlin and Dresden day and night to clear up the matter of the attacks completely.

In order to guarantee that such incidents do not repeat themselves in the future the state prosecutor should perhaps really sit in an adjoining room if people have been taken into custody in great numbers. But far more necessary would be a change in the law about the People's Police. It simply contains a vacuum that should be filled straight away. I mean the rights and the security of people who have been taken into custody. Whoever is taken into custody should, for example, have the right and the possibility of immediately requesting a lawyer, and, if desired, a state lawyer as well. In face of the bitter experiences, what is prohibited during custody and detention must be legally regulated. For example, measures for the detection of crime or even the use of violence, which can only be legitimate in the breaking up of violence and even then must be carried out with appropriate means. The chief principle must, however, be the unconditional respect of the dignity of the person. This principle is even valid to those who have committed the most serious crimes. It has to be valid even more for respectable citizens who, in whatever circumstances, have fallen under some kind of suspicion.

However, good laws are useless without a good fundamental attitude. In the cases of some officers in the People's Police who bore the responsibility for the treatment of those taken into custody, one should immediately examine more closely the attitude towards their duties in such situations and therefore to people as well as to the law. This problem could of course not be overcome through preliminary investigations and criminal proceedings alone.

Issuing of New Party Documents Postponed

LD2411185289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee has decided to postpone the date for the issuing of the new party documents. A statement issued on Friday said that the Politburo was guided in its decision by the fact that everything has to be done now to concentrate all the strength on the preparation and execution of the extraordinary party conference, the current tasks of the renewal of the party and socialism in the GDR. Furthermore, as a result of the situation which has arisen it has not been possible in a number of district (kreis) executives of the SED to complete the production of the new party documents on time. The current party documents will remain

valid until the issuing of the new party documents, which will be decided upon after the extraordinary party conference.

'Will of Socialism' SED Rally in Potsdam

AU2411193289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Rallies in Many Towns of Our Country"]

[Text] Potsdam (ND)—More than 30,000 people gathered in Platz der Nationen on Sunday [19 November]. This rally had been called by the party of the workers class. Other parties stated in their newspapers that they would not participate. Thus, the meeting in Platz der Nationen became the expression of the will of the Potsdam Communists and citizens—powerful, frank, and with one main demand: the common points of all those who want a renewal of socialism. Several speakers called for support of the government statement. "Real socialism is a coalition of reasonable things," a banner said. "We do not want a split because every idea and every hand is needed for socialist renewal," Rolf Kutzmutz, recently reelected first secretary of the Potsdam Kreis SED leadership, stated. "We do not let ourselves be isolated and we do not do this to others, and we will not be impatient with those who are trying to do this to us at present!" Michael Schumann, of the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, stated with the agreement of the tens of thousands: "We, the SED, are obviously not the only ones who have to learn much. We do not claim to be the sole representatives of democratic and socialist development—but others should not do this, either. One thing is clear, however: There cannot be socialism without socialists!"

Heinz Vietze, the newly elected first secretary of the Potsdam Bezirk SED leadership, explained: "We are for a socialism where everyone can express his opinion freely and where people can also listen. Only dialogue brings about progressive ideas. However, dialogue must also result in decisions and then in active actions for the benefit of the people."

This report cannot cite all speakers. However, we want to mention the criticism of many participants: Television carries reports on so many demonstrations and rallies—but it was absent at this powerful expression of will for socialism in the GDR.

LDPD, FDP Party Officials Meet 22 Nov

LD2411103889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deputy chairmen of the two parties, Gerhard Lindner and Gerhart Baum, spoke in favor of increased cooperation between the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] and the FDP [Free Democratic Party], which should also include local party organizations within the framework of town twinnings, during a meeting in Berlin today. At the suggestion of Gerhard Baum, both parties' youth organizations will take up contact with one another.

The two politicians discussed the process of the LDPD's new orientation in the current renewal and its responsibility in the entrepreneurial area for the stabilization of the GDR's economy.

As the LDPD press office told ADN, the FDP politician is interested in how equal opportunities can be created for all political groupings in future elections and how the Modrow government's offer of cooperation and other forms of collaboration with capitalist firms can be specifically fulfilled.

The FDP leadership continues to respect the GDR's sovereignty to decide on developments in the country. In response to a question from the LDPD paper DER MORGEN on whether the issue of hard currency for GDR tourists had been mentioned, the FDP deputy chairman replied that clearing up this matter was the task of both governments. They had agreed that speculators had to be pursued.

Taking part in the talks were the secretary of the LDPD Central Executive Council, Armin Behrendt, and the member of the FDP Federal Executive, Dr Burkhard Hirsch.

During their 3-day stay in the GDR, the FDP politicians held talks in various places with representatives of the LDPD and citizens' initiatives such as New Forum and Democratic Departure.

Leader Notes Liberal Democratic Party Principles

LD2411130189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1944 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] feels it is deeply bound up with the turning point, the revolution that came from the people, said party Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach at a forum of metropolitan Liberal Democrats in Berlin today. Boldly and thoughtfully, with emotion and reason, and without iconoclasm, they should help solve present and future problems on the basis of the LDPD's development into a liberal and democratic people's party.

The LDPD's policy results from the declared intention to shape socialism on German soil and open up an all-European perspective, he said, referring to the published "Principles of Liberal-Democratic Policy Today," in which "all the LDPD's proposals submitted since the beginning of this year are contained."

During the consultation the cancellation of Article 1 of the Constitution (leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany), protection of the currency, free elections, continuation of the democratization process, as well as increased participation of the LDPD in the management and leadership of the state were demanded.

LDPD Disclaims Belief in Leading Role of SED

LD2411230189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2055 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] deleted its belief in the leading role of the party of the working class from the preamble to its statutes. The deputy chairman of the LDPD, Hans-Dieter Raspe, said this evening to the press in Berlin that on this resolution made at the session of the Central Executive, which took place earlier, that the formula of a party friendly with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is no longer valid, but the LDPD wishes to be equal among equals. At the same time he reaffirmed that it wishes to be and will be a reliable coalition partner. The decisions at the SED Extraordinary Party Congress and the developments in other parties will be important for coalition behavior.

Raspe made it clear that the LDPD sees the key question of the reform processes in the country as being public, equal, free elections with a secret ballot. They are the prerequisite for parliamentary democracy and, in the opinion of the Central Executive, should take place from the community representations to the People's Chamber at the earliest possible moment, by next autumn at the latest.

LDPD executive member Dr Witho Holland described the first priority in the reform process as being to bring the GDR economy into order. For this his party has made a multitude of proposals, including disclosure of the finances. Up to now the concept for an economic reform had been lacking. All parties have to face up to this question. Therefore the LDPD has great hopes of the "Round Table" which has come up for discussion, and which in a figurative sense should have "a large diameter if possible."

Dr Holland, who is his party's expert on economic matters, said on the subjects of freedom of travel for GDR citizens, welcome money, and acceptable solutions for the two German states, that the LDPD has welcomed the freedom to travel as a basic right of the citizens. However the sovereignty of the GDR and socialism in the GDR must be part of all working hypotheses on its financing—the GDR should "not be ridden roughshod over economically." With the knowledge of the 100 billion marks that the GDR lost up to 1961 through the open frontier it also now has a high moral right for economic aid. He viewed the so-called welcome money as the call for compensation.

It was announced at the press conference that the Central Executive expressed its confidence in the members of the Political Commission after the latter had asked for a vote of confidence. The party chairman, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, had the best result with only one vote against. Among a whole list of cadre political decisions were the election of Professor Dr Bruno Benthin and Professor Dr Peter Klaus Budig to the political commission. The LDPD could register a strong increase in the membrship, above all after the upturn that has begun. With more than 8,000 new recruits this year they now have 113,500 members.

The draft of "Basic principles of Liberal-Democratic policies today" which was presented by the political commission will be revised by an editorial commission because of many suggestions made. The decision on the final version was assigned to the Secretariat.

LDPD Official Calls for Independent Movement

AU2711073389 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 20 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by Christian Renatus, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the LDPD: "The GDR Needs a New Independent Public Movement"]

[Text] The members of all classes and strata of our state are embarking upon a new start. The citizens are making socialism their cause. "We are the people" sounds all over our country. A great movement has started and mobilizes unprecedented forces of the people.

One thing becomes clear: The National Front, which has always been called the most comprehensive public movement of the GDR and has been led exclusively by the hand of one party, has never lived up to its task for the people. Thus, it cannot be the basis for changes with its rigid structures and one-sided orientation. It is objectively too outdated to be a shaping, organizational, and politically supporting element in a pluralist social system. A new public movement has long since developed, which cannot be ignored and overlooked, which has blown away old things, and has spontaneously assumed its place in the GDR's political landscape.

On the basis of the GDR Constitution, which has to be changed—among other things Sections 1 and 3—new quality of party coalition, reformed social organizations, new parties and associations and citizens movements, new forms of cooperation and common responsibility from "below" should develop.

The following views and theses can be extracted from letters and discussions within and outside the party:

—The GDR needs an independent public movement sharing independent responsibility for social life above all in towns and villages and which should embrace representatives of the entire political spectrum, independent initiative groups, and the church and other religious groups.

—A new public movement must work independently of the state and government and be based on the absolutely voluntary and equal cooperation of social forces, which are ready to implement important projects, tasks, and demands—in particular those coming from the people—through joint work.

—In the towns and villages citizens' committees could be formed, in larger towns supported by full-time coordinating secretaries, in which one representative of every participating party, organization, association, initiative, etc. works without being paid.

—From among this body a spokesman is elected, who, on behalf of the citizens' committee, has the right to participate at any time in the discussions of the local people's representative bodies and their organs and to explain or advocate the "opinion of the people." The spokesman is bound by the consensus that has been reached and not by the decisions of the political group to which he belongs.

—Such a movement can do without organizational structures at the bezirk and central level. At these levels the Democratic Bloc should be the linking element between all political forces as long as a grand coalition exists.

—In the new citizens' movement any verbal interference or any issuing of orders by individual parties or by state organs has to be foregone. All initiatives emanate from below, which, on the other hand, makes it necessary to steadily and closely cooperate with the local councils and their organs for solving independently chosen local policy projects.

—There have also been proposals for a name of the new independent public movement:

Democratic Alternative

National Forum

Citizens' Community, etc.

We put these first ideas about the renewal of a public movement in our country up for discussion because we think that we cannot achieve the democratic renewal of our state without comprehensive participation, which is based on the interests of all citizens. We members of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany are willing to contribute all our strength to this movement.

Extraordinary CDU Congress Proposed

AU2611163889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Extraordinary Congress in December"]

[Text] Nebra (ADN)—The proposal to hold an extrordinary congress of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] in Berlin on 15 and 16 December was presented at the meeting of the CDU Main Executive Committee in Burgscheidungen on Monday [20 November]. The subject of the 3-day discussion is the preparation of this party congress and the revision of the CDU position paper, which was published on 28 October and into which the numerous contributions from the residential and local groups, kreis and bezirk associations are to be included. For this purpose, 12 working groups will be in action.

At a news conference on Monday, CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere outlined the concern of the meeting. The party needs a democratic process of formation of opinion and will and of decision-making emanating from the grass roots, because this is where the actual work is done; the heart of the party is beating in the local groups. An expression of such a method of working is the comprehensive inclusion of all members in the discussion about the position paper, which is to be turned into the CDU's guidelines for the next elections.

FRG CDU Leaders Hold News Conference

LD2411164389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union in the FRG wishes to develop good contacts with all forces for reform in the GDR. CDU General Secretary Volker Ruehe and the Chairman of the Berlin (West) CDU, Eberhard Diepgen, stated this today at a news conference in Berlin, which was held after an exchange of opinions with the Chairman of the GDR's CDU, Lothar de Maiziere. The interlocutors agreed on the demand that free elections take place in the GDR at the earliest possible moment.

According to Ruehe, the GDR and the CDU there were on the move. Diepgen stated the two parties had hitherto only been linked by the three letters. One must wait and see if reformist forces prevailed in the eastern CDU. New party Chairman de Maiziere is a bearer of hopes in this respect. Ruehe described as remarkable the fact that in the party's position paper the word socialism did not occur. Lothar de Maiziere remarked on this that his party wanted to define the word socialism anew and not to use it mearly as a verbal wrapping. They had discussed his party's readiness to reform in the talks. "I hope that we went some way towards passing," the party chairman said.

Ruehe and Diepgen thought a series of developments was in motion in the GDR which might bring about a series of common features. In this context there were thoughts on taking up closer contacts between experts in the areas of the economy and environmental protection.

Diepgen spoke of a multitude of possible things in common on the decisive national question. Ruehe stated on reunification: "People in the GDR must decide whether they wish to live in one state with the other Germans." His party is campaigning, it is clear to him, for intermediate stops on the way toward this. Meetings between citizens from the two German states had to be put under the title: We are one people. Eberhard Diepgen said that a confederation was a conceivable way. He supported a partnership of treaties between the two German states, which might lead toward an economic community. De Maiziere expressed his conviction that

the question of reunification is solvable within the framework of a European home.

Volker Ruehe announced that his party had been invited to the GDR CDU's extraordinary party congress in December. They were considering sending an observer. He could imagine setting up an office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in one of the GDR's political centres, for example, Leipzig.

The CDU general secretary reasserted his party's opinion and that of the government in Bonn on linking economic support for the GDR to thorough economic and political reforms. He explained what was to be understood by this with the words: "There must be a complete renunciation of socialism in the GDR." In his opinion socialism failed. It is not responsible to make a bad system a little more bearable by material aid on the part of the Federal Republic. The opening of the borders would only gain confidence in the GDR's leadership temporarily. The chairman of the West Berlin CDU added: "We must see to it that capital can move and not people." He recommended the introduction of a social and ecological market economy to the GDR.

Green Party Established for Ecological Change

LD2411221289 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] A Green Party was set up in the GDR today. Its founding is the reesult of the long-standing ecological grass-roots movement. The party which works on the basis of the Constitution is open to every citizen who has attained majority. It is in favor of a thorough ecological change. The Greens emphatically reject anti-environmental technologies and growth which wastes raw materials.

'Free Democratic Party' Founded as Competition

LD2511183989 Hamburg DPA in German 1614 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] [No dateline as received]—After the founding of a Social Democratic Party (SDP) in the GDR, now a "Free Democratic Party" (FDP) has been founded, too, as competition for the Liberal Democratic Party, which has been in existence since 1945. As was made known today, by last Thursday around 50 members met in Rostock for an informal founding event of the FDP.

According to information from Hamburg FDP member Reinhard Rose, a party program is being drawn up that is to be resolved within the framework of the as-yet-unknown GDR electoral legislation. Rose himself has joined the new party as an extraordinary member. In reality the LDPD does not represent liberal policies.

FDGB Wants Investigation of Tisch's Activities

LD2311213489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Free German Trade Union [FDGB] Federation Executive has called on the People's Chamber committee which is investigating cases of corruption and abuse of position to examine all the accusations made against Harry Tisch and to disclose them. Today ADN reported about a state hunting ground which was for the private use of the former FDGB chairman in the Ribnitz-Damgarten Kreis (District)

Top Court Favors Political Crime-Law Reforms

LD2211232289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Supreme Court is in favor of reforming the law on political crimes, of reworking the GDR Constitution and the judicial system, and of creating a law on judges which clearly lays down the role and position of this group. This was expressed at a meeting of the body in Berlin today, the theme of which was the contribution of the courts' decisions in the democratic renewal of society.

President Dr Guenter Sarge told journalists this evening that one of the points of emphasis of the body's meeting, which has 80 members, was the critical assessment of the work to date by the GDR courts. During this meeting their role in applying paragraph 213 of the criminal code—equality before the law—and issues connected with the amnesty were dealt with. At the same time the Supreme Court put its positions on quetions of rehabilitating citizens up for debate. Thus it has been unambiguously stated that justice must be given to those to whom an injustice has been done in any way by the GDR courts at any time. To this end the courts will use all legal possibilities such as retrials and quashing verdicts. The Supreme Court plenum called on the minister of justice to do everything possible to remove injustices which have occurred and to rectify them. During the discussion the participants spoke in favor of swiftly passing a law on rehabilitation so that the will of parliament might become visible on these issues.

Dr Sarge underlined the standpoint that the second and eighth chapters of the Penal Code and other norms must immediately be examined and represented in frameworks which are internationally customary—the protection of the state, society, and public order.

The independence of judges was a central issue. There were considerations for a reorientation of the instructions concerning legal practise, whereby there was unanimity that this task is reserved for the courts themselves and no other body. It was also announced that in future there will be a large degree of openness in judicial work, which must be comprehensible to all citizens. Equally, the courtrooms must be open for almost all proceedings, as this is important in establishing people's confidence in

their legal bodies. The meeting supported the maintenance and expansion of the democratic elements of the judiciary, in particular the work of jurors and honorary judges.

Responding to questions from journalists, Dr Sarge stated that to date no miscarriages of justice by judges and courts have been reported; if such incidents come to light they will be punished according to the rule of law. At the same time, the Supreme Court acts in line with the basic principle of applying the law against and for everyone, regardless of his former function. In this connection the president referred to the clear demarcation between the Justice Ministry as a government body and the Supreme Court as an independent body in this country.

Defense Minister on Role of Border Troops

LD2311222189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1929 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to GDR National Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, the border troops have a firm place in national defense. "Our task is to ensure that peace is preserved for our people and neighboring peoples, and to reliably secure the borders. Order and security at the state border have top priority", Hoffmann said while visiting a border section in Berlin-Treptow. "It is not by chance that my first visit to the 'troops' is to the border soldiers."

Previously Admiral Hoffmann had talked to soldiers, NCOs, cadets, and officers in one unit, together with Lieutenant General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten chief of the border troops. During the meeting those attending expressed many opinions and comments. They ranged from criticism of tutelage in the political training up to now, via—in individual cases—inadequate service and living conditions, up to one proposal whereby thousands of marks could be saved in cleaning service clothing.

Participants in Krenz, Modrow, Seiters Talks

AU2611171889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 1

[ADN report: "For Peaceful, Orderly Coexistence of GDR and FRG"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [20 November], Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers met for a talk with Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister for special tasks and head of the Chancellor's Office. [passage omitted]

The meeting was attended from the GDR side by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler; Alexander Schalck, state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry; Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR's Permanent Mission in the FRG; and Karl Seidel, head of the FRG Department in the Foreign Ministry; from the FRG side by Ministry official Claus-Juergen Duisberg; Ministry official Burkhard Dobiey; Manfred Speck, head of Minister Seiter's office; and Franz Bertele, head of the FRG's Permanent Mission in the GDR.

Stolpe on Dialogue Between State, Church

AU1911154589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "State and Church Should Use their Experiences With Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] Greifswald (ADN/ND)—On Tuesday [14 November] the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University of Greifswald honored Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaderships in the GDR, by awarding him the title of doctor theologiae honoris causa.

In his festive speech, Manfred Stolpe discussed the community of responsibility of Christians and Marxists in the GDR. "The GDR has gained credit in the European process of detente and has participated in shaping and consolidating it. But it has not been able to implement it at home," he stressed. He pointed out with emphasis that "the common search for the future by all those who are aware of their responsibility in this country must start with equal dialogue, with the weighing of visions in view of global and local challenges, before resistance to renewal, emotions of retribution, or pan-German dreams make us all incapable of thinking and acting." Christians and Marxists, state and church in the GDR have a lead in experience with dialogue, which they should use to put into motion the equal dialogue among all about the future. This gives rise to a community of responsibility, which is an honest offer for the participation of all who think differently, Stolpe stressed. [passage omitted]

Ardenne Proposes 'Socialist Market Economy'

AU2011105489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 89 pp 3-4

[ND report on statement by Professor Manfred von Ardenne, member of the Cultural League parliamentary group, at the People's Chamber Session on 13 November: "Drastic Cutback of Administration and Bureaucracy"]

[Text] Professor Manfred von Ardenne stressed that in the current political situation of the GDR, confidence could not be gained by words but only by deeds. He said that this had already been done by the breathtaking opening of the borders and by the change of the media. He demanded as essential contributions toward creating confidence in the state leadership the admission and development of independent parties and alternative groups on the basis of the Constitution, the introduction of free and secret elections, and independence and far-reaching freedom of decision for the Council of

Ministers. He mentioned as additional, rapidly feasible measures the abolition of "undeserved privileges and the replacement of harmful, incompetent leadership cadres."

To increase economic efficiency, Professor von Ardenne proposed seven points. Ardenne said that the first point was "giving up the highly bureaucratic centralism, meaning a drastic reduction in the centrally planned economy and transition to a socialist market economy." He said that inflexible, centrally managed combines had to be dissolved, and medium and small enterprises had to be founded also on a private basis. He said that the money must become a yardstick for the quality of work, for economic success or failure. He said that most subsidies had to be abolished, with social hardships having to be ruled out. Ardenne said that on the long road to the convertibility of our currency, we had to ask ourselves whether the state's external trade monopoly was still justified. He said that the drastic reduction of administration and bureaucracy, reductions in salary, or the termination of employment of persons with poor work ethics were necessary. He added that "genuine expert work and moral qualifications" were required "as the main yardsticks of an individual's professional career, pay, and acknowledgment." He said that the party membership must no longer be a prerequisite for leadership cadres. In addition, "Marxist ideology must be adjusted to man's character and to the conditions of our modern times."

Doctors Ask for Reforms From New Government

AU2211115589 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Doctors' Letter Because of Profound Concern"]

[Text] Leading medical scientists and politicians involved in health matters have sent an open letter to the "new GDR Government."

"Because of our responsibility as doctors and out of profound concern about the extremely serious situation in our homeland's health sector, we are addressing this open letter to the new GDR Government. We also feel obliged to do this because the speech by Comrade Egon Krenz at the 10th session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany dealt with this vital problem of the people of our country in an insufficient way," the letter says.

"Our unreserved respect goes to all those who are caring—often beyond the limits of endurance—for the people entrusted to them in this situation.

"In our view, urgent tasks to be done to change the situation are:

"All GDR health institutions have to be put under uniform leadership immediately and must be open to treat all people. We call for considering the physical and psychological services performed by health service employees more equal and for abolishing the insufficient moral, social, and material reward for those who perform these services. This includes newly determining the position of the health sector in our society, payment in line with performance, and the conditions which correspond to the tasks in hospitals, institutes, out-patient clinics, and doctors' offices, as well as improving the employees' living conditions.

"The health sector needs a considerably higher proportion of the GDR's national income.

"In order to ensure the future of medicine, it is indispensable to newly determine the contents, form, and conditions of studies and of basic and advanced training.

"New material and structural conditions have to be established to make the existing intellectual potential of medical science in the GDR fully effective. These are vital questions for the future of medicine in the GDR. For this purpose, the technical competence of the managers at all levels of the health sector is to be ensured.

"We expect the new government to immediately deal with the oppressive situation and to work out a program to overcome this situation. We will present proposals for this purpose."

The letter is signed by Professors Ruediger von Baehr, Heinz David, Juergen Grosser, Horst Klinkmann, Guenter Pasternak, Bodo Schoehnheit, and Niels Soennichsen.

Sieber Speaks at Central Committee Session

AU1911180489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 9

[Speech by Guenter Sieber, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the 10th SED Central Committee session in Berlin on 10 November: "The Dictate of the Hour: "Fighting Against Time and for the GDR"]

[Excerpts] Dear comrades, so far some of us certainly have not had a clear idea of what is meant by "abrupt changes;" now we are experiencing such changes in our country.

So far my development has not been free from quick and contradictory decisions, as far as my function and my work is concerned. I have often regretted that, basically, I was never in a certain function for more than approximately 8 years. Every time it was necessary to make a new start, sometimes I had to acquire new knowledge from scratch, and I was only able to use parts of what I had learned before. [passage omitted]

Dear comrades, nevertheless, it is a fact that every function leaves a certain margin for one's own responsibility. The question for us all, and for me in particular, is: Did you make use of this margin? I do not have to

speak primarily for myself, but on behalf of my comrades, the comrades in my department, and many who have cooperated with us, and I can say that we did use this margin and that we even showed courage, particularly in such instances that involved such critical or even vital questions as our relations with the CPSU and with fraternal parties, particularly following the 11th SED Congress. Our relations, particularly those with the CPSU, have worked and have been stable, and, above all, they have always been of enormous importance for us, which is currently becoming particularly obvious.

To Show Greatness in Complicated Situations

Comrades, having this margin also means, of course, that one must occasionally decide to expand it. This has also happened. After all, it was necessary to prevent damage in certain situations.

Here one can apply Comrade Gorbachev's well-known statement, which, in the meantime, has been so tragically fulfilled: "Those who are late will be punished by life." We have found out that the blame must not be put on the millions of honest party members and the millions of working people who have supported us. The blame must be put on the leadership. In this difficult situation, we ought to show personal and political greatness. [passage omitted]

The Initial Phase of Renewal Is the Most Difficult Phase

If we look at all of the developments that took place in Moscow, Warsaw, and Budapest, one will notice several outstanding features, including the fact that the initial phase of any kind of renewal is the most difficult one. It is particularly the contradiction between the necessary faster reactions and the extremely rapidly growing democratic awareness. [passage omitted]

We need time—and we can fight for this time only by fully using those reserves that are most easily accessible for us.

Easily Accessible Reserves, Even in the Field of Politics

What are some of these easily accessible reserves? In the field of production it is honest work. However, it also exists in the political sphere and in the sphere of the media.

I have great respect for our journalists who work abroad, especially the large group of talented people in Moscow, who had a particularly hard time, who showed great discipline, and who are now able to work as hard as they can to ensure that what now constitutes the guidelines of our policy toward the CPSU is fully implemented. I think that the same holds true for the comrades who work on television. [passage omitted]

For Shaping the Future We Do Not Need Empty Words But Imagination

The last thing that our foreign comrades told us seems to be the most important one: It is identical with what Comrade Jahn has said. We had the same experience that you are having now, namely that at this moment you have more work to do than you can, that there is no time to unwind, and that you do not have the time to sleep. Nevertheless, you must not forget that, today you are making decisions for the future, and that you must make preparations for the future, which does not require empty words in cabinet meetings, but which requires imagination.

Comrades, thus I believe that the dictate of the hour is our fight against time, for time, and for our home country, the GDR.

SED CC Members Speak at 8-10 Nov Session

AU1911165489

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 10 and 11-12 November carries the speeches by members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] held at the Central Committee session of 8-10 November. On 10 November on pages 3-7 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries the speeches, totaling 14,900 words, by Christa Hermann, Wolfgang Junker, Moritz Mebel, Waldemar Liemen, Fritz Dallmann, Hermann Kant, Rudolf Winter, and Guenther Jahn.

Christa Hermann, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Reichenbach Kreis leadership, says in her 2,200-word speech that there are many things that she is calling into question, but "not the role and the responsibility of our party." She notes that she has been in the Central Committee since 1986 and "today I have to say that I have never been correctly informed about the real situation. Yes, I would like to say that I was told lies. Because of discipline toward the party, I sometimes reacted too late or, despite critical information provided to superior leaderships, I did not follow the matters impatiently enough. I will change this in the future, if I am permitted to stay in this function." Noting that realizing her faults "hurts very much," she says that she is "very seriously thinking about what we must do differently, better, and more consistently in every basic organization, in the kreis, and up to the party leadership and the government so that our most important assignment, namely to do everything for the people and with the people, can be implemented more tangibly."

Noting that the "loss of trust is very big and very difficult" and that the "leading role of our party is increasingly called into question," she goes on to discuss several questions and problems which have been broached by work collectives and people in her kreis. Among other things, she calls for a "considerably more efficient investment policy." She stresses that "our people want to be able to buy good products, which they

want to have, with the money they have worked for. In this connection, the government has to act quickly and more quickly. In the kreis we practically do not feel any parts of the central decisions!" She also points out that the "production of consumer goods finally has to orient itself to demand."

In conclusion, Christa Hermann discusses questions of inner-party democracy and says that "the extremely complicated processes and contradictions, which have accumulated and have now broken out with all of their force and in their entire scope, require radical changes in all fields if the things that have been achieved over 40 years of the building of socialist construction are not to be lost. They call for listening to the voice of the people more thoroughly; the people have brought about the changes in the streets, in the talks, and in the many discussions which we have also held in the kreis. Without losing sight of reality, we need fast, solid actions by us, but by our party leadership—and I count myself among them—and, above all, also by our government."

Wolfgang Junker, Central Committee member and minister of construction, stresses in his 2,300-word speech that "despite all of the justified criticism in these difficult days, we must not permit all of the social achievements in our republic to be thrown onto the trash heap of history." He notes that at the beginning of 1988, Gerhard Schuerer presented a number of basic proposals for changes in economic policy to Erich Honecker and says that "at the Council of Ministers session at that time it was not these proposals—which were well thought-out in my view—that were submitted for decision, but a statement by then-Central Committee secretary for economic policy, Comrade Mittag, which, as one can say today, called for a basic rejection of these proposals by means of false arguments, half-truths, and accusations."

Junker notes that he agrees with Egon Krenz that "on the basis of self-complacency and violations of the principle of collectivity in party leadership, phenomena of stagnation and ossification emerged over the past years." He expresses shock about "Comrade Erich Honecker's arrogance" and notes that even in the past weeks since the Ninth Central Committee Session, actions were not fast enough and that "decisions, which have long matured," now "seem to be the result of the protest demonstrations, of the pressure from the streets."

Junker recalls that "many critics accuse us of having pursued a failed construction policy" and notes that he does "not consider such a general judgment justified."

After discussing the GDR's construction policy in more detail, Junker says in conclusion that "the next days and weeks will pose utmost demands on every individual Communist and on every member of the Central Committee. We have to act in a cohesive way and with the firm conviction that our cause is a just one and that our communist truth will win in the end."

Moritz Mebel, Central Committee member, representative of the health minister for kidney transplants, and chairman of the GDR section of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, says in his 1,500-word speech that it was not "us, the leading force of the workers class, the cooperative peasants, and the intelligentsia in our GDR who introduced a change in the GDR, but the large masses of our people, who do not reject socialism but only its deformations. We have to frankly and honestly admit this." He notes that he completely agrees with Egon Krenz "that a situation like the present one must never, never again repeat itself." However, he says that he does not understand one thing: "Why can the week-long silence of the then-Politburo be explained with the illness of the then-general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker?" After listing various short-term measures which should be implemented, he notes that "we Communists have only one privilege—and I stress the word privilege: to work more and increasingly responsibly in all fields of our society."

Referring to his profession as a doctor, he notes that he was deeply shocked by the fact "that many doctors broke their professional oath and left their patients. There is no justification for this, not even if they sometimes suffered from social injustices."

Waldemar Liemen, Central Committee member and party secretary of the "Werra" Potash Enterprise, notes in his 1,200-word speech that he does not completely agree with the SED's action program because he expected "more specific measures and not just main directions, in particular not such general statements that supplies have to be improved, etc. They are not sufficient." He points out that the miners are "disappointed about the draft travel law, in particular about the half-hearted approach."

Stating that "unfortunately, not all of our comrades are showing their flag and simply accept abuses of our party or are afraid to act openly," he points out that "over the past 3 days 80 comrades have left us, so now already 200 of our 2,300 comrades have left the party. This is countered by 50 new members. We cannot predict what will happen in the future." Liemen says that the abuse of power and of their functions by some former Politburo members and other functionaries "has caused disgust and bitter disappointment among our party members. Least is said at present about how we intend to ensure production, raise labor productivity and efficiency, better use work time, and reduce costs." Criticizing the excessive bureaucracy, Liemen says, "It is impossible that a miner has to fill in 24 different forms before he comes to work on every shift, and all of this under the excuse of safety." Referring to the low pay in potash mining, he says that "many young people leave the enterprise because in other enterprises they earn the same or sometimes more during a normal work than in shift work in underground mining." "Today we are short of 200 skilled workers and 350 shift workers."

In conclusion Liemen notes that "in total, we assess the ideopolitical situation and the mood in our enterprise as very tense. I ask the Politburo and our general secretary

to make sure that after the 10th Central Committee plenum, the actions of the party leadership are visibly and tangibly the focus down to every party group."

Fritz Dallmann, Central Committee member, chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association [VdgB], and chairman of the Priborn Crop Production Agricultural Producer Cooperative, in Roeble Kreis, notes in his 1,000-word speech that he is speaking "on behalf of the members of the VdgB." He asks: "How will the comrades who have caused the grave mistakes in the economy be held accountable?"

Noting that the VdgB fulfills its responsibility to provide stable supplies for the population, he says that it is the "will of the VdgB members to strengthen cooperative ownership, to further consolidate the agricultural producer cooperatives and the horticultural producer cooperatives, and to further develop cooperative democracy." Dallmann calls for state decisions to "stop the waste of foodstuffs" and notes that "great dissatisfaction" is caused by the fact "that the cooperative peasants are not able to decide themselves on how to use the financial means which they earn through their work." He criticizes the condition of technical equipment and the deficient supply of spare parts. He calls for the improvement of supplying basic consumer goods to many villages and notes that the VdgB will "continue to provide M20 million per year for the development of the villages, in particular for the improvement of working and living conditions."

In conclusion, he says that "we peasants agree to the establishment of an environmental protection committee."

Hermann Kant, Central Committee member and chairman of the Writers Union, discusses in his 1,500-word speech letters by citizens, which have voiced much criticism. Detailing some criticism in the letters, he asks: "Can we be pleased with the fact that the most frequent terms used in this bunch of letters are 'courage' and 'encouragement?' It should be self-evident that we need changes which make sure that one does not need any courage any more to tell the truth." Speaking about the leading role of the party, he says: "I want the leading role for us; everyone who engages in the political struggle wants it. The others want it, too. However, we have to keep it and regain it for the simple reason that if one really wants to keep public ownership and wants to protect it against corruption and reaction, one needs a really socialist party."

Referring to the Berlin Wall, he says that "this facility, which, in my view, could disappear if the conditions for its construction disappeared, cannot be made popular in any way. It will be demonstrated that we moved from the preliminary crisis into the crisis—if we study the matter at some time—when the inhabitants of our country were told something about the wall's lasting for another 100 years."

Rudolf Winter, Central Committee member and director general of the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine State-Owned Enterprise, in Karl-Marx-Stadt, says in his 2,000-word speech that for his enterprise the "working out and implementation of an effective action program" by the party is "of great importance."

Discussing the situation in the economy, he notes that "we must not relax in our efforts to fulfill the national economic plan, and this is to be done in all enterprises and combines. We think that the draft to active military service and reservist service should be coordinated between the Defense Kreis Commands and the enterprise directors so that production is not made even more difficult." He also notes that the "system of central management and planning, which is linked with much red tape, must be completely reshaped. At the same time, the number of the many control organs is to be radically reduced." Furthermore, he stresses that he considers it necessary "to further develop the combines into high-capacity socialist industrial concerns. This includes raising the combines' and enterprises' own responsibility in research and development, production, and sale. This also includes the application of the principle of comprehensive self-financing and the orientation of the working people toward the highest results by means of the performance principle. It is also time to think about how interested working people can participate in the enterprises' fixed assets." In conclusion, he notes that it is "urgently necessary to enforce market-oriented work in the subcontractor industry and to develop and introduce into production through one's own initiative such products that are needed to ensure the scientific-technological top standard of final production. Of utmost importance for the further performance development of our national economy is the acquisition of labor for the producing sectors."

Guenther Jahn, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Potsdam Bezirk leadership, says in his 1,200-word speech: "I admit and I regret that as Central Committee member and first secretary of a bezirk leadership I was one of those at the political steering wheel and I did not turn it around in time and have thus caused damage. However, I still have enough sense of responsibility to say: I will not avoid the consequences of my actions."

In continuation, Jahn discusses the reasons for his mistakes and notes that "the action program for the renewal of socialism in the GDR opens up the new stage of moving from preliminary dialogue to constructive partnership. Our comrades, who sometimes felt bitterness about the fact that various spokesmen advanced into an ideological vacuum, will now grasp the action program with both hands, will use its basic line for their actions, and will put a considerable strain on us when we discuss it with them."

Continuing with the discussion of the opportunities for dialogue, Jahn says: "All dialogue partners must approach each other, whether they like each other or

not—the comrades of the SED and the spokesmen of New Forum, the representatives of the Democratic Bloc and the newly developed associations—so that the best possible variety is chosen among the varied reform varieties of socialist renewal. Just one alternative must not exist: the return to capitalism as a preliminary stage of imperialist reunification. A sincere dialogue naturally presupposes a minimum of decency of the interlocutors. We have seen recently that dialogue rallies are to be transformed into tribunals to purposefully oust struggling SED functionaries. Thus, a real defamation campaign is started to damage their reputation, even going as far as character assassination. In this way our comrades are to be used up and caused to have a nervous breakdown. However, we cannot accept this and we will not permit this. What we Communists need now is solidarity among the comrades themselves, yes, the solidarity of our family of comrades. Standing side by side as a common source of strength is a very important thing now."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 11-12 November on pages 5 to 11 carries 10 speeches, ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 words, by Wilfried Possner, Hans-Jurgen Truemper, Christa Zellmer, Michael Trutti, Erich Postler, Eberhard Aurich, Guenter Wendland, Rudi Mittig, Kurt Hager, members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee, at the 10th SED Central Committee session in Berlin from 8 to 10 November.

Wilfried Possner, Central Committee member and chairman of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Organization, says in his 2,000-word speech that the "incomprehensible maneuvering of individual comrades has discredited many functionaries of the party, of the social organizations, and also of the Free German Youth [FDJ] in front of the comrades and the people." He states that the party has to struggle again for its leading role. He calls on his comrades to consider "a new school system, a new FDJ, a new pioneer organization, its place within and outside the school, its new interrelationships, and new opportunities for those who represent the pupils' interests."

In his 1,000-word speech, Hans-Juergen Truemper, member of the Central Committee and brigadier in the "Wilhelm Pieck" Mansfeld Combine State Enterprise [VEB], complains about delayed decisions on structural changes. He says that every collective has to present its ideas and ask, "How can supplies in our stores be increased and how can the state budget be relieved?" He states that opportunities will be created by production "to provide an additional M5 million for the state budget before the end of the year."

In her 1,800-word speech, Christa Zellmer, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk leadership, fully agrees with Egon Krenz's speech. She also refers to the New Forum and calls it "a real social force which has its activists, adherents, and sympathizers in all established political parties and organizations." She says that the discussions between citizens of all classes and strata on questions of social development and socialist concepts should not take place on the street, but in town halls and houses of culture. She states in conclusion that "the work of the bezirk leadership, its secretariat, and, accordingly, the kreis leaderships, is adjusting to a new style of political leadership, above all, the work with the basic organizations, its leaderships, and its members."

In his 2,000-word speech, Michael Trutti, candidate member of the Central Committee and foundry master in the VEB "8 May 1945" Refined Steel Works, in Freital, criticizes several shortcomings in his line of industry. He expresses that he is in favor of the unity of economic and social policy but is against "indiscriminate distribution of the results of strenous creative work."

In his 1,800-word speech, Erich Postler, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Gera Bezirk leadership, addresses topical problems in his bezirk. He expressed concern "about continued reductions of the plan. Despite different points of view, it has been realized that better socialism is only feasible by better work of all and a better economic system."

Eberhard Aurich, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, says in his 1,200-word speech that the FDJ "has been betrayed." He calls for "immediate consequences, including the punishment of the comrades who have already been mentioned." He says that progress will only be made if the FDJ members are seriously willing "to create a new FDJ."

In his 1,200-word speech, Guenter Wendland, candidate member of the Central Committee and general prosecuting attorney of the GDR, deals with the excesses of the security organs at the demonstrations in October. He promises speedy investigations and the payment of damages. He says that "disclosing everything will be a contribution to guaranteeing that such confrontation will never again be permitted and possible."

In his 1,200-word speech, Rudi Mittig, member of the Central Committee and deputy minister of state security, criticizes the interference of FRG politicians and the media, defends the work of the Ministry for State Security, and says that "the members of the ministry are exposed to great pressure now."

In his 1,200-word speech, Kurt Hager, member of the Central Committee, calls for an urgently needed program of action and accuses the FRG of planning to extinguish the SED and to make the GDR greatly dependent on the FRG. He admits that he increasingly lost contact with real life. Analyzing the causes of the crisis, he says that the wrong assessment of the processes in the Soviet Union was caused by "presumption." Hager also advocates free elections.

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the Central Committee and minister of culture, says in this 1,200-word speech that the "anti-Soviet policy which secretly developed in our country, especially since the 27th CSPU Congress, was most harmful." He admits that the "democratic needs of many citizens have been disregarded; they did not feel that their opinion was desired." He criticizes the shortage of modern consumer goods. He calls for the "formation of a government which is exclusively responsible to parliament.

Further Reportage Prior to 26 Nov Referendum

DEMISZ To Vote No on President

LD2311233489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The national executive body of the Democratic Hungarian Youth League [DEMISZ] confirms that at the Sunday referendum, the youth organization will support the answer no, regarding the question of the president of the Republic. According to DEMISZ, if the people vote yes, then they will exclude themselves from the decision regarding the president of the republic. In the remaining three questions, the DEMISZ supports the yes answer.

HSP Not To Boycott

LD2311234289 Budapest MTI in English 0803 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) has not initiated a boycott of the forthcoming referendum since, in view of the present conditions, it did not want to encourage the people to display political passivity, said Pal Vastagh, member of the HSP Presidium, at a rally in Szombathely on Wednesday [22 November].

Mr Vastagh, however, holds it conceivable for the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Hungarian People's Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Patriotic People's Front to issue a joint statement on the referendum. He added that so far there has not been much talk of the fact that almost half of the 200,000 signatures collected by the Alliance of Free Democrats could not be identified.

Mr Vastagh said that the HSP Presidium had applied to the Budapest Metropolitan Court for the registration of the Hungarian Socialist Party so as to settle the legal situation that emerged after the party congress.

4-Party Alliance on President Vote

LD2311234989 Budapest MTI in English 1506 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—It would be highly risky to elect the president of the Republic at this stage, when Hungarian democracy is just emerging and the various parties have not yet crystallised their manifestos.

The situation is far too complex for anyone to be able to come to grips with it and lead the country out of its present crisis. At this stage, what is required is collective wisdom, Pal Benyo, president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, said at a Thursday [23 November] press conference called to discuss the run-up to the November 26 referendum. The conference was held by the quadripartite referendum alliance rallying the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and the Smallholders' Party.

Mr Benyo continued by saying that a uniform position had been adopted by the four parties on the method of a peaceful political transition. The first stage of the transition would be for the state party to pass its power to the people and for the people to be allowed to elect its own legislature. This gradualness is the condition for democracy, Mr Benyo added.

SZDSZ spokesman, Miklos Haraszti, and FIDESZ spokesman, Tamas Deutsch, stressed that those participating in the polls should decide on the timing of the presidential elections, and not on whether the president should be elected by a referendum or by Parliament. After the free parliamentary elections, the new Parliament can amend the related chapters of the new constitution, if it so wishes. (The constitution sets down that the president should be elected by Parliament, but by the population on this first occasion. In the meantime, the new constitution of the Republic of Hungary is being drawn up.)

Participants at the news conference also spoke about the irregularities discovered during preparations for the referendum: there were errors in the electoral lists, for instance.

The four-party alliance rejects the operation of the 15-member committee set up to oversee Hungarian television and Hungarian radio, the Federation of Hungarian Journalists and the Glasnost Club have already done so. The parties voiced their concern that it will give rise to political clashes. In their opinion, the setting up of a 3-5 member committee—independent from parties—would be justified.

MDF Urges Boycott

LD2311232689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Budapest coordinating committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] supports the National Presidium's statement and proposes that citizens stay away from the 26 November referendum. According to the MDF, this referendum only serves narrow party interests, and real change can only be brought about by the general elections next March.

Political Groups on Referendum

LD2411093789 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—Representatives of the Endre-Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Patriotic People's Front, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Deomcratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, and the Hungarian Socialist Party set forth their views on the referendum to be held this weekend, at their joint press conference held in parliament on Thursday.

In September, the organizations signed the documents which closed the trilateral coordination talks, and continue to observe the agreement in the issue of electing the president of the republic.

Karoly Vigh (Endre-Bajcsy Zsilinszky Friendship Society) was of the opinion that the referendum unnecessarily sharpens home political tensions. Attila Dobsai (Patriotic People's Front) said the only positive element in initiating the referendum was that it made public the conflicts of political interests which have been hidden. Sandor Keresztes, representing the Christian Democratic People's Party, said his party's position was that the president of the Republic should always be elected by referendum. Istvan Csurka (Hungarian Democratic Forum) said his organization was calling on citizens to boycott the referendum as the questions on the ballot cards are not essential. Csaba Hamori (Hungarian Socialist Party) was of the opinion that the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) had 'set a trap' for parliament with its referendum initiating action. Similarly, Csaba Varga, representative of the Hungarian People's Party, judged the conduct of SZDSZ and the opposition parties which joined its action to be unjustified.

Radio To Air Appeals

LD2411103889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] According to the stipulations of the electoral law, Hungarian Radio, beginning at 2000 today [1900 GMT] will give airtime on Kossuth Radio to all those parties and organizations who wish to make public an election appeal in connection with Sunday's referendum.

The possibility exists for a brief, maximum 4-minute summary-type broadcast. This means equal time for each party. The radio will record the appeals. Recordings will be made in the afternoon and early evening.

All those parties and organisations wishing to take advantage of this opportunity should phone the secretariat of the president of Hungarian radio by 1400 today.

Voting Rules Outlined

LD2511200189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The National Election Committee announces that tomorrow's referendum will last from 0600 until 1800 [0500-1700 GMT]. Everyone can vote by showing his identification card at the voting premises, according to his place of residence. The national election committee, in the interest of an unbiased referendum, states that for all of today, and until voting is completed tomorrow—that is, until 1800—election campaigning is prohibited. This decree pertains to the voters, the parties, the press organs, and also to the propagation of press products.

Referendum Called by Parliament Begins, Results

LD2611095289 Budapest MTI in English 0806 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—The 12,000 polling stations around the country opened their doors at 6 a.m. on Sunday morning for people to vote at the referendum called by Parliament at the initiative of over a hundred thousand citizens.

The four questions votes have to answer are:

—Should the president of the Republic be elected only after the parliamentary elections?
—Should party organizations be withdrawn from places of work?
—Should the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party give an account of its assets and the property under its management?
—Should the Workers' Militia be disbanded?

The referendum will only be deemed valid if more than half the electorate turns out and votes correctly.

According to the election law, partial results from the referendum may not be made public before 8 p.m. on Sunday.

Counting will be performed with the aid of a computer, and after ballot boxes have been sealed, they will be brought to the county halls along with the protocols of the electoral boards.

Results will be transmitted to National Electoral Board headquarters in the parliament building.

Advanced data on the result of the poll are due to be released late tonight.

MTI on Minor Voting Problems

LD2611192189 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—As already reported, Hungary's first national referendum got under way on Sunday morning.

Officially speaking, the doors of the 11,007 polling stations up and down the country should have opened for business at 6.a.m., but in several places, people could vote 30 minutes or an hour prior to this time.

Local and foreign journalists were briefed in the early afternoon on the initial experiences of polling by the National Electoral Board and representatives of the election office set up in the parliament building.

At the briefing, it was stressed that despite demands to the contrary, no details of turn-out or anything else may be made public before 8 P.M. Central European Time, because this could influence the outcome of the referendum.

Going into details about preparations for the referendum, National Electoral Board officials said that in future, people would have to be provided with much more consistent and precise information on the ins and outs of polling.

The uncertainty surrounding the present poll was confirmed when the electoral board's switchboard started receiving calls just 15 minutes after the referendum had begun, with voters requesting information and advice on a whole range of matters. The questions people asked included whether activists of the various parties were allowed to supervise the polling, were those not staying at their permanent place of residence allowed to vote?, could voting be considered secret if the envelope containing the voting slip was unsealed?

Board officials replied that according to the statutory provisions in force, activists of the various parties are not permitted to supervise the polling. A separate registration card had been issued to those who were eligible to vote but would not be voting at their permanent place of residence. People without such a card caused a few headaches, especially in holiday resorts like Hajduszoboszlo and the Lake Balaton region.

Under the law, in the absence of such a certificate, people are not allowed to vote, and so a number of voters had to be turned away. Sealing the envelope containing the voting slip was not a criterion of secrecy (in fact, it even delayed the actual counting), secrecy was ensured through the privacy of the polling booth.

The issue of a breach of the law which bans campaigning 24 hours prior to the referendum was also discussed at the briefing in view of articles carried in Saturday's "NEPSZABADSAG", "MAGYAR NEMZET" and the new weekly of the HSWP, "SZABADSAG". As it turned out, the unabashed appearance of these articles was made possible through a legal loophole: Although the law carries the ban, it includes no actual sanctions against perpetrators. It was also pointed out that it is difficult to judge whether radio and television reports broadcast during this time can be considered as indirect campaigning.

The position of the National Electoral Board is that its task is to supervise the impartiality of the referendum, and make a decision on any disputes which might arise. Thus, it is not in a position to deal with such breaches of the law, but proposes that the matter be settled legally prior to the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Party Officials on Voting

LD2611192689 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—MTI asked representatives of some of the political parties on Sunday afternoon for their views about how polling was going.

"According to our information, polling is going smoothly throughout the country. We've had news of only minor irregularities", Tibor Vidos, campaign manager of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said.

Mr Vidos added that one polling station in the capital's IIIrd district had been set up on the second floor of a school, the absence of a lift was proving a bit of a problem to elderly voters.

They had also received news of some agitation in front of certain polling stations, and that in Kecskemet, some electors had to travel a distance of ten kilometres to cast their vote, obviously owing to some administrative error.

Ivan Szandtner, head of the election office of the Hungarian Socialist Party, reported that their activists were speaking about agitation propaganda material being "left behind" in a few polling stations, while in a Budapest ward, leaflets were being handed out.

Posters were being put up as late as Saturday in several parts of the country, he said, and four "yeses" had been painted on a pavement at Sunday dawn.

Mr Szandtner told journalists that Rezso Nyers, president of the HSP, cast his vote in the morning.

Geza Jeszenszky, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's National Electoral Board, reported that according to his information, the referendum was going without a hitch, an opinion shared by Tamas Deutsch, member of the Federation of Young Democrats' Board.

Reports Indicate 53-Percent Turnout

LD2611210189 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—According to unofficial information, MTI understands 53.8 percent of the Budapest electorate had turned out to vote by 4.40 p.m. on Sunday.

Of the capital's 1,506 polling stations, 1,499 closed at 6 p.m. after the turn-out exceeded fifty percent. Present estimates put the turn-out at around 60 percent in Budapest.

The first unofficial report from the National Electorate Board says the turn-out by 4 p.m. was 53.6 percent throughout the country, i.e. 4,206,784 people voted. (On October 1, Hungary's electorate was 7,853,962).

Fifty percent of the votes cast (plus at least one) must be identical before the referendum on each given question can be declared valid.

Public Opinion Surveyed

LD2611233489 Budapest MTI in English 2237 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—According to information released late on Sunday evening by the national electoral board, the weather has put a bit of a jinx on processing the ballots cast at Sunday's plebiscite.

Heavy snowfalls are slowing down delivery of the ballot boxes and the related protocols to county towns in several parts of the country, especially in Gyor-Sopron county (NW Hungary) and the northerly regions.

That means it will be midnight (CET) [2300 GMT] before the first results can be expected.

A survey conducted by Median, LTD., a public opinion research company, on the day before the referendum, was published on Sunday evening.

1,200 people from over a hundred districts up and down the country were asked if they would be voting.

Sixty-six percent of those questioned gave a definite yes, while ten percent said maybe.

Forty-eight percent of those who said they would definitely be turning out said they would vote in favour of having the president elected after parliamentary elections, while 43 percent replied no to the question, and 9 percent were do not knows.

Nemeth, Fodor on Possibilities

LD2611234389 Budapest MTI in English
2310 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—During his Sunday afternoon visit to National Electoral Board headquarters in the parliament building, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth told journalists that as far as he could ascertain, the referendum was being conducted properly and in a lawful manner. "You can see that, like all laws and forces in a democratic constitutional state, the present Hungarian mechanism is being put through its paces," he commented.

MTI's correspondent asked Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, what would happen if the outcome of the referendum went against the bills adopted by Parliament.

"Should the outcome go against Parliament's earlier decisions, the decisions would automatically lose effect.

"The questions included on the voting slip about disbanding the workers militia, the operation of parties in places of work, and the assets of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], relate to the prohibitive sections of the relevant laws in force. If the result of the referendum were to go against these, it would not mean that a worker's militia would have to be organised again or that parties should set up organizations in places of work. The laws that could be amended following the referendum would merely provide the opportunity for this.

"As regards the election of the president of the Republic, if people vote in favour of electing the president only after the parliamentary elections, this would probably mean that Parliament will have to be dissolved on December 18. If, on the other hand, the result turns out in favor of the early election of the president, the election will take place at the date already fixed—January 7th, 1990.

"Following the presidential elections, a decision will have to be taken on dissolving Parliament," Mr Fodor said.

Electoral Board Initial Predictions

LD2611235989 Budapest MTI in English
2330 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—To the first question on the voting slip—should the election of the president of the Republic take place only after the parliamentary elections?—53.7 percent of the voters gave a negative reply, according to a 1.8 percent sample taken from the ballots cast at Sunday's referendum, National Electoral Board officials said late on Sunday night in the parliament building.

The number who voted correctly could now be specified quite acurately now: It is 59.4 percent.

An affirmative reply to the first question was given by 46.3 percent of the sample, meaning less than half of the voters were in favour of holding the parliamentary elections before the presidential elections. The ratio of positive responses to the other three questions was over 95 percent.

The electoral board emphasised, though, that this partial result was taken from an insignificant sample, and experience shows that a representative sample can only be compiled from a minimum 10 percent of the votes in order to produce a clear prediction.

Partial Results Announced

LD2711031489 Budapest MTI in English
0121 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—Another part result in Sunday's referendum was made public by National Electoral Board headquarters shortly before 2 a.m. Monday morning.

Results emerging based on 36.1 percent of returns from the referendum seem to confirm the tendencies observed in samples taken earlier.

To the first question, the ratio of negative replies still has the upper hand with 51.5 percent, while the ratio of yes votes is 48.5 percent. At the same time, the ratio of invalid ballots keeps rising.

In absolute numbers, the above 36.1 percent ratio of returns was prepared from 2,622,388 ballots, 1,422,696 of which proved to be valid (53.4 percent). Of these, the ratio of no votes to the first question concerning the presidential election is 51.5 percent, and that of the affirmative replies 48.5 percent.

Prior to this, a sample was taken just before midnight, based on 1,205 or 10.9 percent of all returns. The voting ratios differ negligibly from the prediction made earlier, based on a sample taken from 1.8 percent of the ballots.

Based on the returns, the ballots of 430,049 voters were assessed from constituencies with a total of 730,771 eligible voters. The total number of valid votes for the first question was 403,675 and 53.2 percent of the ballots were in favour of the public's choosing the president of the Republic.

Preliminary data relating to the referendum will be published on Monday morning, with official final results being available on Tuesday.

January Election Supported

LD2711114689 Budapest MTI in English 0851 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—By 9 am Monday, 91.3 percent of returns from the referendum had been checked. To the first question—should the election of the President of the Republic take place only after the parliamentary elections, or through a new referendum on January 7, 1990—49.8 percent of valid ballots supported the first version and 50.2 percent the January referendum.

The ration of positive responses to the other questions concerning party organizations at workplaces, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's property account and disbanding the Workers' Militia has remained around 94 per cent since the first partial results were announced.

The official final results will be available Tuesday morning following further return checks.

Opposition Parties Comment

LD2711133889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] It was somewhat contradictory to the evaluation of the election committee, what was heard by Peter Marvanyi at the press briefing of the four-party coalition, that is the Alliance of Free Democratics, the FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats], the Smallholders' Party, and Social Democratic Party.

[Marvanyi] Jenoe Freisinger of the Smallholder's Party has anounced victory, the people have won, the significant majority of the electors went to vote consciously, based on their own decision, despite the boycott appeal and people did not go to the ballot boxes guided by the old reflexes. This was emphasized by Ivan Petoe, executive of the Free Democrats, too.

The second victory is the very close result in the election of the president. According to the information of the four parties, the minimum lead of yes votes has been achieved, however, this was not even published as a partial result since this morning. Public opinion has been informed only about the majority of 0.002 [number as heard] no votes. According to their information, the majority of yes votes is 0.001. [number as heard]

According to the election law, incidentally, the data can not be kept secret Representatives of the press are entitled to be present at the work of the election organs without any special request, and the journalists attending are also encouraged to do this. The results have to be published within 24 hours.

The four-party coalition, regarding the close results, proposes the following:

The National Assembly should, with a simple procedure, modify the relevant decree of the Constitution. Thus, according to the original question of the referendum, the presidential election should be held after the parliamentary election, and according to the auxiliary explanation of the National Assembly, this first presidential election after the parliamentarian elections should be direct referendum.

In connection with yesterday's referendum, the four parties have a lot of complaints to make, there were a lot of irregularities, but the coalition does not wish to attack the results. If accepts the results by all means; however, it asks that legality be observed until the declaration of the final results.

Referendum 'Problems' Noted

LD2711135689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] As reported earlier, there is still no final result to yesterday's referendum. [passage omitted]

According to the numbers known so far, 58.2 percent of the population participated in the voting, and the rate of invalid votes is only 3 percent.

The election committee is still working on the remaining some 1,000 records, and it will check them once more during the night, certifying them at the same time.

Problems occurred during the referendum. For example, the fact that many students were unable to vote was described by an election committee official as a teething problem of the first attempt.

Hungarian Reaction to Czechoslovak Events Noted

Nyers Answers Dubcek, Cernik Letter

LD2411115689 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—Alexander Dubcek and Oldrich Cernik sent a letter to Rezso Nyers two months ago, expressing their satisfaction over the August, 1989 decision, in which the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] clearly disassociated itself from the 1968 military intervention of five Warsaw Treaty

countries in Czechoslovakia and took an unconditional stand for the right of all nations to freely choose their own ways of development.

In his recent reply to the Czechoslovak politicians, Rezso Nyers expressed his gratitude for the appreciative words on account of the HSWP resolution relating to the 1968 military intervention. "Let our peoples and national minorities cooperate in the interests of our countries and central Europe as a whole," the letter says.

Horn on Prague Events

LD2511192989 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister and member of the National Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party, gave an address on Saturday to a meeting of members of the party's organization in Hodmezovasarhely.

Speaking about the latest Prague events, Mr Horn told his audience that they had been predictable, it was also of great significance that the changes, although radical, had taken place peacefully.

Turning to home policy issues, Mr Horn said the HSP Presidium should adopt a firm position on the issues concerning the fate of the country. This was especially important now, in light of the re-organization of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Adopting a position was imperative not because the HSP wished to become a governing party, but because it was the HSP that represented genuine left-wing values.

Analysing the country's economic problems, Mr Horn emphasized the importance of the government's tasks in keeping the country governable. It was quite evident, he said, that each branch required funds, but Parliament was in no position to reach a decision on the issue which would be equally tailored to the various requirements.

Western states were requesting guarantees for the aid they provide, and most of them considered the fundamental changes presently taking place in the country to be an adequate guarantee, Mr Horn said.

Scientific Workers Support CSSR

LD2411112689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers sent a statement to us in which they ensure the Czech and Slovak demonstrators of their solidarity.

Opposition Supports Czech People

LD2611150889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Hungarian opposition parties have sent a letter to the Czechoslovak Civil Forum and the Independent Student Alliance.

The FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats], the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions and the Solidarity Trade Union Workers' Alliance assured the Czechoslovak people about their support in their fight for democracy and freedom.

Future of Dam Project Questioned

LD2611231689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Institute Director Peter Hardi by unidentified announcer in the Budapest Domestic Service studio on 26 November]

[Text] [Announcer] Our studio guest throughout the night is Peter Hardi, director of the Foreign Affairs Institute. Do you think that these changes in Czechoslovakia will lead, or could lead, to a change in the Czechoslovak stand on the matter of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, for example? What is your opinion on this?

[Hardi] It is my conviction that it must lead to that. After all, this was a prestige investment of the earlier leadership, too. And if the Hungarian premier could say that this is the remnant of a Stalinist practice, then this is all the more the case in the case of Czechoslovakia, where this has, as a matter of fact, been one of the symbols of the leadership in power since 1968. A new reform leadership—moreover, a democratic leadership—must at all events evaluate this whole concept.

[Announcer] Thank you very much for the reply.

MDF Apologizes for 1968 Invasion at Rally

LD2511215789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The opposition have formulated their demands in the Slovak capital, Bratislava. Our special correspondent, Szabolcs Ukvarhelyi, is at the scene:

[Begin Udvarhelyi recording] The demands of the Slovak nation, or at least the Slovak majority, have been summed up in 12 points by the movement public opinion against force, which at the moment can be considered the leading political force, and by the pan-Slovak College Coordinating Committee. The 12 Slovak points were read out early this evening in Bratislava, at the 60,000-80,000-strong mass rally, which lasted for several hours. [passage omitted]

What is especially important for us, in particular for the some 600,000 Magyars living in Slovakia, is the 10th point, which alongside the creation of a genuinely democratic Czech and Slovak federation, demands the constitutional guarantee of nationality rights. [passage omitted]

The several-hour long Bratislava mass rally was not free of emotional outbursts. [passage omitted] Hungaria

Hungaria, was heard for several minutes when a representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, in broken Slovak, apologized for the Hungarian troops having taken part in the 1968 crushing of the Prague Spring. The young person at the same time attested his faith to Hungarian-Slovak friendship, to which thank you, thank you, resounded in Hungarian from the square. [end recording]

GDR 'Sympathy' Toward Romania Diminishing

AU2411152989 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 23 Nov 89 p 5

[MTI and ADN reports: "Critical Analysis of Ceausescu's Dictatorship in Berlin—Western Romanian Intellectuals Demand Ceausescu's Departure"]

[Text] Compared with the conditions prevailing on 7 October 1989, the GDR-Romanian relations have cooled off considerably. In its 22 November issue, the CDU central organ, NEUE ZEIT, carries a critical commentary of the Romanian situation, with particular emphasis on Ceausescu's personality cult. The fact that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] sent a considerably low-level delegate to the 14th congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] caused a sensation in Berlin.

The fact that a mere SED observer in the editorial room of "PEACE AND SOCIALISM" traveled to Bucharest, rather than the usual central committee secretary or politburo member, clearly showed that Berlin hardly feels the same sympathy toward the leadership in Bucharest as in Honecker's time. The newspapers also published one of the demands of the demonstrators in Leipzig according to which the State Council should strip Ceausescu of the Karl-Marx Medal conferred to him last year on the occasion of his 70th birtday and personally pinned by Erich Honecker on the occasion of Ceausescu's visit in Berlin in November 1988.

"The fact that a series of important communist and workers parties did not send a delegation to the 14th RCP Congress, and the SED is also represented only by an observer makes it clear to everyone the extent to which the regime in Bucharest has distanced itself from the international life and the extent of Romania's isolation. The closure of borders, the complete halt in tourism, and the rude border examination of foreigners on official trips—even if the authorities try to present this behavior as something connected with the security measures on the occasion of the party congress—all these are clear signs of the strengthening of a boorish laager mentality. This regime is incapable of reforms and it is merciless with its critics."

According to the ADN report from Bucharest, the details of extremely strict energy-saving regulations in Romania have been published only recently, although these have already been in force since 20 October.

ADN points out that last year's restrictions continue to be in force, and the energy consumption of the population and of public institutions is strictly limited. Up to 15 December, central heating will function only 5 hours a day, and only 7 hours a day after this date. Hot water is supplied only intermittently, between 3-6 hours a day. The consumption of household electric power continues to be regulated by quantitative norms.

Cinemas and theaters are heated only from 5 to 11 p.m. and work in public and educational institutions can be carried out only in daylight. Shops must close at 5.30 p.m. at the latest.

ADN points out that there has been an energy shortage in Romania for some 10 years. Coal-fueled power stations are working at half capacity, and the situation is worse in the case of hydroelectric power stations. Only the new nuclear power station in Cernavoda will promise some change.

Forty prominent Romanian intellectuals living in the West sent an open letter to "all those who are interested in a peaceful solution to the current Romanian crisis." Among the signatories are Eugen Ionescu, Nobel Laureate biologist George Palade, and many outstanding writers and literary critics—Anredi Brezianu, Matei Calinescu, Nina Cassian, Andrei Cordescu, Constantin Eretescu, Paul Goma, Virgil Ierunca, Gelu Ionescu, Monica Lovinescu, Norman Manea, Ion Negoitescu, Mihai Spariosu, Alexandra Tarziu, Dorin Tudoran, Ileana Vrancea—and many scientists, philosophers, painters, and architects living in the United States, France, Switzerland, and in other Western countries, like Dan Hanganu, Eugen Mihaiescu, Toma Pavel, Ion Vianu. Here is the letter: "Totalitarian regimes are dying off in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and Bulgaria have begun to create the conditions necessary for a broad, radical, and peaceful process of democratization. Romania, which has been living in the ice age of the Ceausescu dictatorship for more than 20 years, cannot avoid this process either. The Romanian nation has arrived at a historical crossroads; for the first time since World War II, the Romanian nation can decide on its fate without external interference...."

Citing the example of Kadar, Honecker, and Zhivkov, the signatories demand that Ceausescu step down without force and without delay. "In this moment of deep crisis, there is a need for immediate and firm action that will put an end to this tragic episode in the history of Romania, and will open up the road towards a free and democratic future for all those who live on Romanian soil, irrespective of their nationality or religion."

The collection of signatures continues.

First Reading of Government Program Approved

LD2311144589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] We go over to the parliament building, from where our reporters Gyorgiy Kiraly and Tibor Hollauer report:

The house accepted the government program in its first reading, with the proviso that they will make a decision of substance on the matter in December.

With regard to the events leading up to this, I cannot say that the acting speaker could cope with the situation. He called on the National Assembly to make a decision on whether they accepted or not the government's 3-year budget report. When the voting machine declared that altogether 30 percent of the deputies have voted yes, Lajos Horvath shouted: The machine is not working! Then he asked: Is the machine working? When he presumably received an affirmative reply from technical experts, he said that the Parliament had not accepted the government's submission. At this point, Erno Kemenes, chairman of the National Planning Office, asked for leave to speak. He informed the esteemed house that the Council of Ministers had not wished for the adoption of a stance from the Parliament on this question. Istvan Sarlos could not refrain from making a comment on the events. He said that a question which was badly formulated could not be given a good reply, and that Lajos Horvath had put the question badly.

Finally the Parliament voted again. It accepted that the briefing was only a first reading.

Finance Minister Presents 1990 Budget

LD2311143989 Budapest MTI in English 1357 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi today presented the budget directives and major budget forecasts for the year 1990 to Parliament for its first reading on the second day of the current parliamentary session.

The budget envisages a 15 percent increase in consumer prices and is looking to cut the budget deficit from 20 to 15 billion forints.

Mr Bekesi would like budget expenditure to rise by 66 billion forints, or 13 percent, over the 1989 figure - to 3 to 4 percent down on the nominal growth in GDP [Gross Domestic Product].

Subsidies to the economy will fall by 17 percent, or 31.5 billion forints to just under 159 billion forints, resulting in a further 1.5-2 percent rise in consumer prices, with transport, energy, water and sewage, and rents most affected.

At the same time, spending on education and health will rise by 40 percent.

Following the swinging cuts of 1989, defence expenditure will remain the same, but will fall by 20 percent in real terms as army wages are increased.

More delicate is the financing of soaring interest subsidies on preferential flat-building loans which now stand at 91 billion forints. The government no longer wishes to foot the bill and is looking to gradually increase both rents and interest on loans while at the same time compensating those hardest hit. The government would also like to sell off more state-owned flats and phase out the more inefficient housing maintenance companies.

MSZMP To Issue New Weekly SZABADSAG

LD2111111289 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—The first issue of "SZABADSAG" (freedom), the weekly of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], is to come out this week.

In the Tuesday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG", "SZABADSAG" editor-in- chief Ferenc J. Horvath said that the four-page format weekly would look something along the lines of "NEPSZABADSAG". Uj Csillag are the publishers.

The first issue will carry the HSWP's appeal for the 14th congress convened for December 17.

"SZABADSAG", 100,000 copies of which will be distributed, is not a party paper directed from above, but an independent, intellectual workshop edited as required by party members.

In this spirit, it includes a collection of letters sent to the HSWP basic organizations.

The paper carries the party's standpoint on the referendum: four times 'no'.

"We're not calling on anyone to boycott the referendum, though. It's entirely up to the individual how he votes", the editor-in- chief of "SZABADSAG" said.

Retired General Czinege Deprived of Rank

LD2211003189 Budapest MTI in English 2228 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, accepted Lajos Czinege's renouncement of his retired army general's rank, on the proposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mazowiecki Previews Upcoming USSR Visit

LD2211122489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Interview with Polish Premier T. Mazowiecki by unidentified TASS correspondents in Warsaw; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Nov (TASS)—In connection with his forthcoming official visit to the Soviet Union, T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, received TASS correspondents and replied to their questions.

[Question] What do you expect from your forthcoming visit to the USSR?

[Mazowiecki] There are many new things happening today in Poland and the Soviet Union. A clear understanding of our mutual aims is particularly important in such a situation. My forthcoming visit to Moscow will serve this purpose. My contacts in the Soviet Union will provide a good opportunity to establish links, primarily on the state level. I do not represent any party; I represent state authority. In my view, this must be the basis for the development of future contacts. It is precisely for this reason that mutual understanding is particularly important. I do not wish to say that other kinds of contacts are less important; however, state ties are fundamental.

It is the government's task, as I said in my program speech to the Sejm, to respect all alliance treaties. We wish to confirm that this is not an opportunistic or superficial element of our policy. It ensues from a profound understanding of what the alliance with the USSR represents for Poland, of what Polish-Russian (speaking from the historical perspective) and Polish-Soviet relations represent in the context of the present day and of their great importance. I would like my visit to confirm these intentions.

[Question] How do you view the prospects for the development of Polish-Soviet relations, specifically economic relations? What obstacles exist on the path of their development?

[Mazowiecki] I am sure that ways can be found to resolve quickly many of the economic, historical, and political issues which I would like to discuss in Moscow. We are now at a historical moment when it is becoming possible to ensure that our alliance rests on a broad public base. This is a very important matter. It is well-known that the foundations of this alliance are long-standing; however, at the social level not all its aspects have been fully understood. In such a situation, it is necessary that there be a basic conviction and a deeper recognition of the need for it, and for all this to be done with a sense of freedom of choice and not just on someone's orders.

I believe that in the present situation we can achieve this. The visit could be an important step in this direction. I would also like it to help to dispel the doubts which I think exist in certain Soviet circles about the stability of the situation in Poland and about whether it creates a threat to the situation in Europe and to our neighbors. We would like such doubts to be dispelled precisely because we are committed to cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Our efforts to step up economic cooperation and intensify contacts with the West will not mean that we will stop being committed to economic relations with our eastern neighbor. On the contrary, we believe that cooperation with the latter has broad, long-term prospects, and it should be regarded in just such terms.

As for obstacles to Polish-Soviet relations, a whole series of problems of the past need to be cleared up. Above all, this is a case of the "blank spots" in history. I think that this is extremely important. It is necessary for Poles who have suffered to be morally compensated, for respect to be paid to the memory of the dead, as has been done with regard to other people, and for these spots to be eliminated. This is highly important for our relations from the psychological point of view. Economic relations also need to be reformed on a modern-day basis using new forms of cooperation.

[Question] What are your comments on anti-Soviet incidents which have occurred recently?

[Mazowiecki] When speaking of a few recent anti-Soviet incidents, one must point out that the Government has regarded them very critically. But it would be wrong to make a problem, which would dominate in our relations, out of these individual phenomena, which are of a particularly alien nature. It is essential to look at them in proper perspective. One must understand that all of this is not some sort of anti-Soviet wave. There is no such wave. But if we are talking of political forces represented in parliament, first and foremost of the coalition, then it seems to me that here everyone understands the significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance. If we speak in regard to the government, I would like to recall that, for example, on the eve of 17 September it warned against any sort of incidents, so as not to make a pretext of this date for anti-Soviet actions.

[Question] Can help from the West be a decisive factor in overcoming the Polish crisis?

[Mazowiecki] Help to Poland from the West is something very important, but we must count on our own strength. Nothing will replace this. It is a matter of the maximum effectiveness of this help. But I repeat again: This can in no way replace our own labor and our own organization of labor. These contacts cannot, in any event, replace our commitment to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CEMA member countries, although that institution itself needs to be reformed, and we agree with that.

Solidarity Paper Notes Mazowiecki's Trip

LD2311221289 Warsaw PAP in English
1642 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The GAZETA WYBORCZA today publishes another commentary on the visit of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to Moscow. Here are excerpts from the commentary:

The Polish changes are largely caused by changes in the Soviet Union, its rejection of the Stalinist totalitarianism, and all that is connected with Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika.

The basic political instinct suggests that a power of Soviet size has had sufficient instruments to block any changes in the neighbouring countries. There is no doubt today that the Soviet authorities also stimulate, though in a different way than 40 years ago, changes in our part of Europe and these are, surely changes for the better.

We can expect it to be the beginning of a new road in our mutual relations. It certainly will not be easy, we have to free our relations off the ballast of falsehood and hypocrisy. Without doing this very hard work, it will not be possible to develop normal relations between our nations.

The symbol of this ballast in Polish-Soviet relations is Katyn, also symbolizing Stalinist crimes on the Polish nation, although we realize that Stalinism was equally cruel to the Russian nation and all other nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

From our Polish point of view, developing of normal relations between us requires a sense of full sovereignty of the nation in its own state and such a government to which there is no doubt that it represents the people without being an exponent of the interests of a small group.

We must feel that we do decide about our destinies, choose our Sejm, and senate in procedures of our own choice, we decide which monuments and temples to erect on our soil, and on which graves to pray.

We embarked on such a road to sovereignty on June 4, (1989), the GAZETA WYBORCZA concludes.

Mazowiecki Travels to USSR for Talks

Arrives; Ryzhkov Makes Statement

LD0411040689 Warsaw PAP in English
0125 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 23—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in the Soviet Union for a four-day official visit in the evening today. This is the first visit of a noncommunist head of the Polish Government since World War Two.

Upon his arrival at Moscow's Vnukovo airport at 2000 hrs, Mazowiecki was greeted by Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov, as well as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, co-chairman of the intergovernmental Soviet-Polish Commission of Economic Cooperation Stepan Sitaryan, the head of the office of the Council of Ministers Mikhail Shkabardnia, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, chairman of the state committee of the USSR for the protection of nature Nikolay Vorontsov, chairman of the State Committee for Public Education Gennadiy Yagodin and other officials. Also present were Poland's ambassador to the Soviet Union Stanislaw Ciosek and his Soviet counterpart Vladimir Brovikov.

The Polish premier is accompanied by: Jacek Ambroziak: minister and head of the office of the Council of Ministers, Bronislaw Kaminski: minister of environmental protection and natural resources, Marcin Swiecicki: minister of foreign economic relations, Jerzy Osiatynski: minister and head of the Central Planning Office, Aleksander Hall: minister and member of the Council of Ministers, Tadeusz Syryjczyjk: minister of industry, Boleslaw Kulski: secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Marek Dabrowski: secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, Waldemar Kuczynski: undersecretary of state at the office of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the premier's advisors, Andrzej Drawicz: chairman of the radio and television committee, and Malsorzata Niezabitowska: the government press spokeswoman.

Accompanied by Nikolay Ryzhkov, Mazowiecki left the airport for the representative "Oktyabrskaya" hotel near the Kremlin. The route covered by the motorcade was bedecked with Polish and Soviet flags.

Programme of the Visit

During his visit to the USSR, Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be received by Mikhail Gorbachev, will hold talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov and other representatives of the Soviet Government. He will meet also Professor Andrey Sakharov and other Soviet intellectuals. Mazowiecki will also meet Soviet Poles and will also be the first Polish leader to pay homage to the murdered Polish officers in Katyn. He will also visit Smolensk and Leningrad.

Both sides attach great importance to the visit and are also aware that it provides a historic opportunity for genuine reconciliation between the two peoples and expresses deideologization and demonopolization of Poland's relations with the USSR. International dimension of the visit is also equally great: It should be viewed as a confirmation in practice of a new doctrine now binding in the Soviet Union's policy towards countries of Eastern Europe. The doctrine is based on respect for their external sovereignty and domestic independence and this is of fundamental significance for the entirety of East-West relations.

Statement by Soviet Premier Ryzhkov for PAP

The PAP correspondent asked Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov to make a short statement. Asked what hopes

he pinned on the commencing talks in which his partner, for the first time in Poland's postwar history, would be a man whom Poles addressed "Mr. Premier" rather than "Comrade Premier," Nikolay Ryzhkov answered.

"Firstly, I think that one of the most important tasks will be to get acquainted with each other. Secondly, our task will also be to examine from the state positions these problems and questions that must be solved by both the Soviet Union and Poland.

"We will firstly examine economic, scientific and technical questions, but also other issues that we take interest in. This concerns also international questions that we will discuss during our talks.

"I think that the visit and the talks will be fruitful and will give us an opportunity to solve these problems that arouse concern of Poland and the USSR."

Wreath Placed at Tomb

LD2411095189 Warsaw PAP in English 0917 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 24—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki laid this morning a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier here. During the ceremony at the Kremlin wall, the Polish prime minister was accompanied by Soviet Vice-Premier Nikolay Laverov.

Also this morning, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Nikolay Ryzhkov held a meeting in the Kremlin.

Spokeswoman on Talks

LD2411150389 Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 24—Asked by PAP about the course of talks the Polish delegation had in Moscow, Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that they concerned those topics which the Polish side had presented at a press conference before the departure to Moscow.

The spokeswoman also said that the talks were dominated by economic problems, mainly financial ones and the question of rescheduling Polish debt to the USSR as well as the issue of raw materials deliveries to Poland. All these questions are to be considered by teams headed by ministers-members of the official delegation on Friday.

Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the Soviet Union will respect all agreements signed with Poland.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska underlined also that the atmosphere of talks was very open, frank, quiet and nice although many difficult questions were discussed.

The only problem not touched upon so far was the question of Soviet compensation for Poles wronged in the Stalinist period.

Gorbachev Receives Mazowiecki 24 Nov

LD2411172489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki has today been received by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin. Earlier he had conferred with Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. At the same time, Polish-Soviet plenary talks, chaired by the heads of both governments, were held. An international agreement on cooperation in environmental protection was signed. The talks held so far have been dominated by economic, especially financial, issues, concerning the rescheduling of Polish debt payments to the Soviet Union as well as the supply of fuels to Poland.

Premier Ryzhkov stated that Moscow will respect every agreement signed with Poland. Atmosphere of the talks was open, frank and calm in spite of the fact that many difficult issues were raised. The only subject which was not raised was that of Soviet damages to Poles who suffered during the Stalinist period.

Gorbachev's Remarks

LD2411193389 Warsaw PAP in English 1813 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 24—In the afternoon today Mikhail Gorbachev received at the Kremlin Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Shortly before the meeting Gorbachev granted a short interview for PAP.

Asked what he had to say to Poles, the Soviet leader answered: "To continue what has been started. I will tell this to your premier.

"We have a big capital now which should be multiplied, Gorbachev continued. Today everybody looks in our direction, at the development in our relations. Thus we should multiply this and not let accumulated things be wasted. Presently there are new relations between our nations, between our countries. I am convinced it brings profits to both sides.

"I, do not mean capital in the form of some credits for debts, for me that capital lies in our relations. I mean the capital in the broad sense of the word, or even more I would say, the human capital. The relations, I will repeat, have changed for better and thoroughly at that. But yet, signals reach me which arouse my concern," Gorbachev stated.

The Soviet leader stopped at this point as Premier Mazowiecki entered the cabinet just then. Gorbachev greeted him with warm words.

The talk started, the beginning of which could be heard by journalists.

"I will try, Gorbachev stated, not to repeat what Premier Ryzhkov already told you. Some people may consider it strange that I want to wish you luck, but in fact I do wish

you success, luck. I think that no less do we want the government, the nation, the nation close to us, to be successful, the government to rule successfully."

"We are also very interested in the success of perestroyka. We come here with best wishes, with best feelings," Premier Mazowiecki replied.

Mazowiecki Assesses Talks

LD2411224189 Warsaw PAP in English 2216 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 24—Following his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki had this to say in a statement for PAP: "This was a very important meeting, a very direct one. In a talk lasting 1 hour and 45 minutes we discussed all important issues. I above all noted the general secretary's extremely positive attitude to the success of all transformations in Poland. He stated outright that he was interested in us carrying out these changes.

"We spoke about economic matters in our country and the Soviet Union, about international matters. In short, all issues were touched upon in a very good, nice, direct atmosphere."

Referring to Gorbachev's statement for PAP that the relations between both countries and societies constituted a capital which must be multiplied, Premier Mazowiecki added: "Yes, we spoke about this, that this is a capital and that these relations and this alliance are not seasonal and are of a fundamental nature for both sides. This without doubt was affirmed during our meeting and talks."

Mazowiecki's Activities

LD2511014189 Warsaw PAP in English 0007 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 24—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki began the second day of his official visit to the Soviet Union with laying a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb in the Alexandrovski Garden adjacent to the Kremlin wall.

Mazowiecki put a wreath of white and red carnations on the tomb. The inscription on ribbons reads: "Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic."

Mazowiecki was briefed on the history of the tomb by Moscow military commander, General Nikolay Smirnov.

The ceremony, watched by a large group of journalists and cameramen, ended with a gala march past.

Plenary Talks

On Friday morning, Polish-Soviet plenary talks began at the Ekaterinovski room of the Kremlin Palace after the welcoming and a brief conversation between Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Nikolay Ryzhkov. Both prime ministers presided over the talks.

Shortly after the end of talks, Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowskia briefed PAP reporters on the course of the talks.

Agreement on Cooperation in Environmental Protection

Immediately following plenary talks, a ceremony took place in the Red Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace during which Poland and the Soviet Union signed an intergovernment agreement on cooperation in natural environment protection which is a kind of catalogue of joint conclusions drawn primarily from the Chernobyl catastrophe.

In the afternoon Mikhail Gorbachev received Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Kremlin. Right before the meeting, Gorbachev granted a short interview for PAP.

Niezabitowska's Press Conference

Scores of Polish, Soviet and Western correspondents, including several TV crews, showed up at the Polish Embassy in Moscow for the evening press conference held by Polish Government spokewoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska.

At the outset, Niezabitowska briefed the journalists on Premier Mazowiecki's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, stating: "A moment ago I talked to the premier who has just ended his meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. Their talk last 1.45 hours. I am thinking about the intensive talks, excluding the customary greeting.

"Premier Mazowiecki is very, very satisfied at this talk. He thinks that the talk was extremely sincere, matter-of-fact, open, friendly, primarily touching upon bilateral issues, Polish-Soviet cooperation. Both sides, both Mr. Gorbachev and Premier Mazowsiecki, stressed the strategic and not seasonal nature of these relations. As concerns Polish matters, they also talked about the economic situation. Many internal problems of both Poland and the Soviet Union were touched upon. Apart from that, the two discussed the German issue, disarmament, the issue of a united Europe, the upcoming meeting with President Bush and Pope John Paul 2, about 'blank spots' and the matter of Katyn.

"As concerns Mr. Gorbachev's attitude towards Poland, Premier Mazowiecki assessed it as very positive, one characterized by very big interest in and very good knowledge of Polish affairs as well as very big understanding of these affairs. This is as much as I have been able to learn a moment ago about this meeting."

Further on, the spokeswoman presented detailed information about Friday's, Polish-Soviet plenary talks. Niezabitowska said: "They began with the address of Premier Ryzhkov who congratulated Premier Mazowiecki on his appointment to the post. Premier Ryzhkov stated that he very well understood how difficult and responsible the

role of the Polish Government is in such a difficult economic situation and wished it success. He next expressed a readiness to discuss all matters on the level of premiers, in the general, strategic sense, and in detail at the level of respective ministers. He expressed a hope that relations between Poland and the Soviet Union would preserve those values which were worked out in previous decades and that they would further develop on the basis of sovereignty, good-neighbourly relations and mutual respect. He stressed that the Soviet side held the Polish nation and state in high esteem. Premier Ryzhkov thought that we have conditions for a positive process of developing good relations between our countries to continue.

"Premier Mazowiecki thanked for the invitation and hospitality and invited Premier Ryzhkov to pay a visit to Poland. He stated that his current visit was an unconventional visit because this was a trip made by a noncommunist premier. At the same time Premier Mazowiecki stressed that both he and all other ministers who were in the opposition before, as well as the whole government of a broad coalition, attach great importance to Polish-Soviet relations, to an alliance between our countries. And as the premier had earlier stated in his expose, Poland would meet all commitments stemming from international law."

Spokeswoman Niezabitowska went on to say; "During discussions on economic matters, attended by both premiers, the head of the Polish Central Planning Office Osiatynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Swiecicki and Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Minister Katushev, the sides agreed that the structure of cooperation had to be changed because it did not correspond to changes carried out in both the Soviet Union and Poland. The changes are to head in the direction of decentralization so that trade and economic relations not be run by governments but by independent economic subjects which would make decisions on their own.

"As concerns prices, they should be based on world prices, while the choice of currency in transactions would be freely selected by the economic subjects mentioned above. The governments would chart out strategic directions and long-term agreements. Supplies of some commodities should have government guarantees. Probably in 1990, a certain group of enterprises, perhaps 10-15 percent of those cooperating, would start applying these new principles on an experimental basis.

"The Polish side stressed that we are very keen on maintaining—in line with the arrangements from last year—supplies of fuels and raw materials in coming years at a level not smaller than in the current five-year period. In the case of gas, under the 'Yamburg Agreement' we would like supplies of it to increase significantly. Premier Ryzhkov stated that the Soviet side has a deep will of meeting its obligations.

"The sides also touched upon the issue of an agreement on social insurance. Work on this agreement is very advanced but somehow it could not be signed so far. Now both sides agreed that one must conclude it very quickly."

Spokeswoman Niezabitowska went on to say: "The second group of issues touched upon by the Polish side concerned the Polish community in the Soviet Union. As Premier Mazowiecki stressed, this matter is very important for us. We are very happy that the situation of this group of the population has of late undergone big, positive changes. Ten Polish socio-cultural associations have been set up, new Polish schools have also been opened but there is still much to be done. The premier mentioned several issues. One is a proposal that Soviet citizens of Polish descent be able to travel to Poland without invitations.

"Another matter is teaching Polish in Soviet schools situated in large Polish communities. This includes the possibility of sending Polish teachers for temporary stay in the USSR. Furthermore, we seek consent for Polish priests to arrive for pastoral service. And last but not least, there is the issue of circulating Polish periodicals and emitting Polish TV programs to Soviet republics bordering on Poland.

"Premier Ryzhkov took a kind and positive stand on these postulates.

"Returning to plenary talks: the sides touched upon several incidents which have taken place in Poland of late, such as the removal of the monument to Dzieerzynski and attempts to burn Lenin's monument in Nowa Huta, as well as acts of profanation of the graves of Soviet soldiers. Premier Mazowiecki once again expressed deep sorrow at these events but also asked the Soviet Government and political leadership of the USSR, as well as Soviet society, to view this in the right proportions. These were sad incidents, painful but marginal ones. We will try to prevent them from happening. We condemn them and very firmly at that but it would be very bad were these incidents to distort Poland's image. As never before there is understanding and sympathy in Poland for what is taking place in the Soviet Union and for your country, Premier Mazowiecki said."

Premier Ryzhkov stated that he thought that neither the political leadership, nor the government, nor the nation generalize Poland's image through these incidents which although are sometimes painful and capable of poisoning the atmosphere, are perceived as pertaining to certain small groups only. In this respect Premier Mazowiecki stated that these small groups also frequently act against him. One should surely perceive the attempt to burn Lenin's statue in Nowa Huta on the eve of the visit to the Soviet Union in this way.

Summing up the talks, Prime Minister Ryzhkov found them exceptrionally beneficial and matter-of-fact, Niezabitowska stated.

Asked whether the issue of compensation for forced labour during Stalinist times was discussed, Niezabitowska replied in the affirmative and said that this matter remained open. Premier Ryzhkov handled it by assessing that it should be separated from the issue of pension and disability payments.

In the evening, the Soviet side gave a reception at the Kremlin in the Polish premier's honour. The premiers of Poland and the USSR delivered toasts.

Talks Please Mazowiecki

LD2511123989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Report by Moscow correspondent Andrzey Sierzeniewaki]

[Text] This morning's Kremlin meeting of both premiers ended the business part of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow. This talk, in which problems of economic cooperation still requiring discussion were tackled, lasted an hour more than planned. It was diffficult but necessary. Premier Mazowiecki said he was pleased with its outcome. I have not managed to obtain any details for the time being, I hope to be able to give them to you this evening.

After the meeting with Nikolay Ryzhkov was over, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki toured the Kremlin and then went to our Embassy for a meeting with several dozen representatives of Polonia communities in various regions of the Soviet Union. Soviet citizens of Polish extraction were there from Siberia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and also from Moscow and its oblast. They represent the dozen or so Polonia clubs and associations which have been formed—for the most part, recently. The meeting is still in progress as you listen to this program.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will meet journalists accredited in Moscow at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center in the afternoon. It appears there is very great interest in the news confrence, so one can expect an interesting conversation. We will be broadcasting it for you, beginning at 1500 on the first program.

Premier Mazowiecki's day in Moscow will end with meetings, first of all separately with Andrey Sakharov, and then with a large group of representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia.

Mazowiecki News Conference

LD2511211989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1414 GMT 25 Nov 89

[News conference by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who is accompanied by Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, Foreign Economic Relations Minister Marcin Swiecicki, and Jerzy Osiatynski, chief of the Central Planning Office, at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow on 25 November—live]

[Text] [Mazowiecki] Ladies and gentlemen, I give you my sincerest greetings. I am glad that (?you) have come in such large numbers, despite the fact that it is Saturday. I apologize to your families for breaking up your free time. I would like to make a brief statement. As you know, ladies and gentlemen, this visit was not a conventional visit; it was not a conventional visit for those of us who came here nor for our hosts. As for me, this is my first visit to Moscow, on a visit such as this. As you understand, this cannot have been easy for me. I know of the great Russian culture, art, literature. I am interested in it, although undoubtedly only to a very small degree compared to my friend Andrzej Drawicz' interest. But this is the first time I have encountered Russian reality, Soviet reality, Moscow. And these impressions of mine are impressions that are very positive.

I liked it more here than I thought I would. This meeting, as I have already said, was an unconventional meeting, is an unconventional meeting. This is only one half, but in a political sense the most important half. This was a particularly unusual meeting; because I came as a prime minister of a government based on new principles. I think that we have reached understanding with my main interlocutors about the fact that my government, which arose out of Solidarity and is based on a broad coalition, wants to strengthen and develop Polish-Soviet relations, treating these relations as the principal element of its policy. We have been met with an understanding of this new situation and recognition. Our talks took place in a frank and sincere climate, which was also matter of fact. Yesterday's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was of a special character. He demonstrated great understanding of our needs. Also, the meeting with Prime Minister Ryzhkov was of great significance to us and demonstrated understanding.

I, and our whole delegation, are very grateful to our hosts for their hospitality.

We know that in the Soviet Union a wide public opinion exists, and that is why I am still pleased; I am pleased that I will have the chance to meet with people of culture and science, both today in Moscow and on Monday in Leningrad. For understandable reasons, the meeting in the Polish Embassy with Polonia [Poles living abroad] representativews held great significance for us; they live in various regions of the Soviet Union. The fact that this Polonia has begun to organize and that we met with them also illustrates the great changes in this respect. The problems brought up in these meetings were numerous; I think that in all of these we have made some wider progress.

So much to start with. I am open to your questions.

["Vremya" program reporter] Vladimir [word indistinct], from the "Vremya" program. I have two questions for the prime minister. The first is: What significance do you attach to the alliance between the Soviet Union and Poland and also in the framework of the Warsaw Pact, to assuring the security and territorial integrity of Poland?

That was the first question. The second question is: Before coming to Moscow, in an interview for (?Muscovites), you said that [passage indistinct]. Do you hold an identical stance, that you represent the government and not the party?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, yes. Already in my first Sejm speech, I said that the government which I head would respect all treaties and alliances, especially those that ensue from Poland's adherance to the Warsaw Pact. I can confirm this.

Simultaneously, as you know, the entire Warsaw Pact is ever more speaking of and moving toward an ever greater emphasis on its political and not its military character. I stressed here in the talks, and I would like to stress it here at this conference as well, that irrespective of Poland's adherance to the Warsaw Pact, bilateral relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are of important significance for us. And we want both sides to have an understanding of the significance of these relations and of the fact that—as I have already stated—we regard them as being independent of short-term considerations. I think that both this more general aspect of the Warsaw Pact and the bilateral relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are of importance for the shape of relations within Europe, for the stability of these relations. As for us, we attach and we will continue to attach great weight to them, and this weight will be no less than was the case with our previous governments. At the same time, we hope that we will perhaps make this stance socially more broad-based in the new conditions.

As for your second question, I emphasize that it is the balance of forces rather than the intraparty balance of forces that is of importance as far as the state is concerned. This is because this is precisely what is new in our relations. I do not dispute either the right of the Communist Parties of Poland and the Soviet Union to have relations or the significance of these relations. However, at present it is the state dimension of these relations that is of fundamental significance for the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. That is why I emphasize it.

Possibly contained within your question is another related question: Am I, as far as internal matters are concerned, such a pure, nonparty person, or do I represent a certain political trend? Of course, I am linked with Solidarity as a social and political movement. I make no secret of that. But simultaneously, taking on the post of prime minister, I said that I wanted to be the prime minister of a government of all Poles. And I try to behave in such a way, but of course keeping my views as well, my colors and tones.

[(?PRENSA) correspondent] (?PRENSA) [word indistinct], Italy. Mr Prime Minister, regarding the meeting with the Soviet leaders in which you touched on the problem of the western borders. Did you (?sign) or receive some guarantee from the Soviet leadership regarding the borders? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I did not raise such questions, as such questions do not exist. The western borders of Poland exist and there is no issue and, in particular, there is no issue between us and the Soviet Union on this matter.

On the other hand, we of course spoke of an issue that is much discussed throughout the world recently, about the events in the GDR, about the discussions about the so-called German question. And as for this too, there is, of course, no doubt that in this respect, too, there is not and there cannot be any issue of borders. In any case, as you know, I recently signed a statement jointly with Chancellor Kohl during his visit to Warsaw, and in this statement, too, it is clearly stated that the sides signing this statement feel that respect for the borders extant today in Europe is a condition for peace and stability in Europe.

[Ostrowski] Marek Ostrowski, PAP, Warsaw. Mr Prime Minister, in your toast at the Kremlin you stressed the desire and need to finally overcome the past in the relations with the Soviet Union. Did you sense in your talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and others that the Soviet Union is showing the same desire?

And a second question, if I may. In a few days, the secretary general is going on a visit to the Vatican. Yesterday, we heard at the press conference that the matter of this visit was mentioned. Can you say a bit more on this subject? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] As regards the past, of course the matter of difficult and painful matters of a mutual past were mentioned in these talks. There is a mutual understanding that the field should be cleared in this respect. There is a will to do this. There is, of course, the matter which is most painful to us—and we are expecting to clear this up—that is the issue of the Katyn crime. We expect the rapid clearing up of this issue; and this expectation of ours was expressed in these talks. I met with understanding on the importance of this matter to us and to clearing up the relations between our societies and nations. My interlocutors, and Mikhail Gorbachev in particular, are aware of the significance of this issue to us and we expect that this matter will be cleared up at last.

And the second question was, ah yes, the second question was about the visit to the Vatican. Well, I'll say openly I told Mikhail Gorbachev that he will soon meet one great Pole. And we spoke of this, about the moral significance of the meeting with the Pope. And earlier, a little while ago as you know, I was in Rome and was at the Pope's [words indistinct] a representative of the Vatican was here in Moscow and discussed the timetable of the meeting. So, I spoke within a short period with both men, and I can say that both are thinking of this meeting with great interest, and I think that we are all (?expecting) a meeting of great moral eloquence.

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct] Mr Prime Minister, from what I know, you did not succeed in fulfulling one point in your program: visiting Moscow.

What was the cause for the extension of the round of talks today? That is the first question. Now, I have a second question, but I just don't know for whom. I address it to the prime minister, in association with this: Was the issue of reparations for the forced labor of Poles during the war raised? Was any of this matter discussed; were decisions made about which we could inform our countrymen? And on economic matters, how did the talks go? Can we also inform our readers about the details, and, and...

[Mazowiecki, interrupting] This is not a question, this is altogether...

[Reporter, interrupting] Have any concrete decisions been made on importing fuels?

[Mazowiecki] As for the first question, I do not know [words indistinct]. I did not have much time to sightsee in Moscow, but yesterday I walked down the Arbat and smelled (?Moscow restaurants). This regards the first question.

Regarding the second question, these matters were dealt with earlier by our foreign minister. We dealt here with the issue of an agreement on social security, which perhaps has some common ground with the subject in question. We will continue work in this sphere.

Regarding the third question, principally the deliveries will be maintained at the same level as now. We, of course, are speaking about deliveries of raw materials. We of course have submitted the request to increase the deliveries. But you understand that it is difficult to expect these matters to be resolved in a 1-2-day period.

[TIME reporter, in English] Two questions please, from TIME magazine. Is it possible to ask in English?

[Unidentified speaker] We prefer Russian. [passage indistinct]

[TIME correspondent] When you were in detention in 1981, did it ever occur to you that you would visit the Soviet Union as prime minister of Poland and, even further, would have such a friendly discussion with Brezhnev's successor, as the one you had in the Kremlin yesterday?

[Mazowiecki] My brief answer is no, I did not. [laughter]

[TIME Reporter] Yesterday, you discussed the so-called issue of German revanchism with the general secretary. What kind of mutual understanding did you come to on this question? Are you concerned at the possibility of a united Germany, and if so why?

[Mazowiecki] As you know, or may not know, the Polish position on this matter was expressed earlier. It contains the following elements: We recognize the right of all nations to self-determination. We believe the German issue only can be resolved, can only be seen, as a European issue. Our position, finally, is that this problem falls within the scope of the superpowers. We have already expressed this view before. During our conversation yesterday, we stated that the reunification problem currently is not on the agenda as far as the present time is concerned. We stated that we welcomed the democratic changes in the GDR. At the same time, the reunification problem is not a problem for today. We also stated that the stability in and security of Europe must be respected. As far as this is concerned, we were completely unanimous. Here there are no differences. We think that, in actual fact, numerous European countries, countries of Western Europe, think the same, irrespective of whether this is publicly voiced or not. Poland, however, is especially in a situation in which it must act with clarity and precision on this question, which concerns Europe's stability and the security of its own borders.

[IL MESSAGERO reporter, in English] [Name indistinct]. Two short questions for the prime minister. The first one, which is connected to the question we were just discusssing now, about the reunification of Germany. You spoke about the special responsibility of the superpowers. Would you be in favor of a common declaration of the four allied powers about the postwar borders in Europe?

[Mazowiecki] What can I say in reply to this question? I would not mind it at all if the four superpowers confirmed that these borders are inviolable and that the stability of borders is of fundamental significance as far as Europe is concerned.

[IL MESSAGERO correspondent] Thank you. The second question is this: Yesterday you were in a restaurant called Prague, but what are you thinking about the situation in Prague now? [laughter]

[Mazowiecki] Well, as you can see, it was only yesterday that I visited the Prague Restaurant and the consequences of that are already at hand! [laughter] But this is just a joke on my part. I think that everywhere it is important to develop things toward democracy, human rights, respect for the will of the people. I think that the situation in various countries is developing in this direction. I hope that this is also the case as far as Czechoslovakia is concerned. But, naturally, I neither intend nor wish to interfere in these internal matters of theirs. This is because my views are no longer those of a private person but those of a prime minister of government. Allow me to dwell on this a bit.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY reporter] My question follows on from this. Did problems in other Warsaw Pact states figure in the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev? The second question pertains to the issues between Poland and the Soviet Union. During your meeting with Polish expatriates today you said, Mr. Prime Minster, that two particularly important problems from among the group of ethnic problems in the Soviet Union were raised: the issue of Polish language instruction and the issue of

providing for people's religious needs. Have specific accords been reached as far as both these issues are concerned?

[Mazowiecki] As far as the first issue is concerned, when one speaks of the situation in Europe one cannot now regard the transforamtions underway in Central Europe in isolation from the changes and events taking place in other countries. So, in this sense, these problems did indeed figure, but in no way was interference in this situation contemplated.

As far as the second issue is concerned—the question of teaching and of providing for people's religious needs—we touched upon these issues during the plenary talks with Prime Minister Ryzhkov and they were touched upon during the talks between Polish ministers and their Soviet counterparts. The first issue—that of teaching—was touched upon during the conversation Minister Hall had with the Soviet chairman of the State Committee for Public Education. The point here revolves around the Polish language and involves visits by Polish language teachers. As for providing for people's religious needs—that Polish priests be able to come here on visits—we presented this postulate to Prime Minister Ryzhkov and it will be examined. We will yet return to this issue. In any case, the postulate was not rejected out of hand, it was received with understanding and will, in all probability, figure in our future talks with the head of the local—I do not know what you call it—Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. What I do not know is is this: Will we be able to do this on this occasion? In any case, the matter has gotten off the ground.

[Smolar] Eugeniusz Smolar, BBC Polish section. First, are you perhaps intending to go to the Bucharest Restaurant tonight? [laughter] And the second question...

[Mazowiecki, interrupting] Is there a Polish restaurant?

[Smolar] And the second question: Soviet armies are stationed on Polish territory which, in the conviction of at least a part of public opinion, do not have a solely educational role to play; and not necessarily a military one, but potentially a police role. Was the matter of the stationing of Soviet armies in Poland a topic of discussion in the course of your talks or plenary talks?

[Mazowiecki] I don't know whether that is indeed the opinion as to this police role. Various armies are stationed in Europe. This is the result of the division of Europe and the world. The status of armies, at least in Poland, has been regulated since 1956. And we did not speak of these matters. On the other hand, we touched on certain financial matters and ones associated with that and decided to examine them bilaterally.

[AP reporter, in English] ASSOCIATED PRESS. Sir, this evening you are going to meet with members of the independent intellectual community in Moscow. Can you tell us what you would like to tell them and what kinds of questions you would like to ask them?

[Mazowiecki] I am simply very curious about this meeting. It is with interest that I await this encounter with the Soviet Union's live and interesting public. I will tell you sincerely that I do not have any specific questions in mind. I think that they too, can put some questions to me. I simply wanted us to make each other's acquaintance. I want to ask them how they appraise the situation, the development of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. I also think that they will ask me various questions about Poland, too. I am very interested in this meeting, as, indeed, in all other meetings in Moscow and in the Soviet Union; they are really of interest to me.

[Unidentified reporter] The conference of a conservative council on the question of Eastern Europe was held in Warsaw in October. Representatives of certain revanchist associations of expellees based in Germany took part in it. What is the Polish Government's attitude to this meeting, to this conference? Mr. Prime Minister, what is your attitude toward the demands that surface now and then in Germany in connection with the question of the German minority in Poland?

[Mazowiecki] I will give you a more extensive reply to your second question. As for the first question, let me tell you I attach no importance to this conference. As for the second question, this is what things look like. Up until recently, an official doctrine was prevalent in our country to the effect that Poland has no national minorities at all. The doctrine proclaimed that following World War II, we became a state in which one nation lived and one nation alone and that there is no problem of minorities at all. This, however, is just one side of the coin. We have now considered [words indistinct] and that, although, they do not constitute a great problem numerically, nevertheless, one should not shut one's eyes to the fact that they exist. This also concerns the existence of people who consider themselves part of the German culture, language, and descent. The other side of the coin is to see all this in correct proportions. This particularly applies to the question of the German minority.

Whoever is more closely acquainted with nationalities, or minorities issues in Poland and Polish history knows how complex these problems are in Silesia. That is why we must watch them carefully. We had a phenomenon of emigration to the FRG by people who began to acknowledge their German roots even though earlier they did not think that way. This is simply the result of the different standards of living. That is why, considering that people of German origin do exist, and they could even be called a German minority, we have said to our partners in the FRG—for instance Chancellor Kohl—that we will respect the rights of these people. But they must understand that we will counteract most decisively and resolutely the artificial expansion of this problem and taking advantage of the situation in the different standards of living. We have explained to our interlocutors how this complex problem is important to us; and while promising to respect these rights which truly are the minority rights, we will do what we can so that this problem is not

blown up artificially. This is because it could split us and give rise to very unfavorable and dangerous tendencies.

[Unidentified reporter, in English] You said you'd like to follow up on my question earlier. We appreciate the prime minister's humor in saying he did not expect to be here as prime minister. In addition to being a political development, it is also a great human drama. Could you tell us a bit about your feelings about being here as prime minister after having been a major figure in Solidarity when it was outlawed?

[Mazowiecki] You know, this is not just a question for me. The roles of many people in Poland have changed. I mean the roles of people who used to be in opposition and now are members of parliament, let's say—their role has changed, too. And, after all, I express the view that actually all political forces in Poland must, as it were, rethink their role and find their role to play. But I do understand that the most vivid manifestation of this is embodied in my person. It is precisely because of the fact that I am the prime minister. As a human being, so to speak, I feel I stand for the same values. Naturally, I do that in a new role and I have different problems and a different scale of responsibilities. But, from the moral viewpoint, this responsibility, properly speaking, remains the same. But I do feel I stand for the implementation of the self-same values. If I had not had this feeling, I would never have taken up this role.

[Piasecki] Jerzy Piasecki, TRYBUNA LUDU. Mr. Prime Minister, what, in your view, is the biggest success of your visit to Moscow? In your estimation, what is the biggest success of this visit?

[Mazowiecki] I think that the most important task I set myself was to reach a mutual understanding here. I cannot answer for my collocutors. However, I did get the impression that we reached a mutual understanding. And I think that—if I can go back to the start of this news conference and if I can mention the fact that this visit was unconventional—I think that this mutual understanding is something very important and, perhaps, the most important thing as far as this visit is concerned. [applause]

Polish Minority Received

LD2511172389 Warsaw PAP in English 1557 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 25—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki held a two-hour meeting with Poles living in the Soviet Union, at the Polish Embassy here today.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed that much has had to change in Poland and in the Soviet Union to make such a meeting possible.

You can play a significant role as a natural bridge between Poland and the Soviet Union, said the Polish premier while presenting the assumptions of the new policy of the Polish Government towards Polonia in the neighbouring countries.

Mazowiecki Visits Katyn

LD2611190989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Today, for the first time in the history of Polish-Soviet relations, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, head of the Polish Government, has visited Katyn. The presence of such a high-ranking Polish personage in Katyn proves that enormous changes are taking place in Polish-Soviet relations, relations which are being cleared from the vestiges of the grim Stalinist period.

Today in the Katyn forest, a solemn ceremony took place: The Polish national anthem sounded, the guard of honor was taken by officers of the Soviet Army. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki laid a wreath of red and white carnations on the slab, which is a foundation of the future monument to the Katyn victims. [passage omitted]

Visit to Monastery

LD2611221189 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 26—Zagorsk, some 70 kilometres to the northeast of Moscow, means the same for the Orthodox Church and Russia what Czestochowa does for Poles and Poland.

Poland's governmental delegation headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki visited Zagorsk in the morning today.

Archimandrite Fyeogmost greeted the premier at the gate of the Troitskiy Monastery.

"At that Russia's sacred place we wish you inspiration from the saints we worship", the archimandrite addressed Premier Mazowiecki. "We are particularly pleased to host you, the head of government of a befriended country which Poland is. We have a rich history of mutual relations. And although it is not univocal, it does tend towards improvement. We believe in that and we pray for that."

Archimandrite Fyeogmost wished Premier Mazowiecki success in his difficult work and God's blessing for the Polish nation. "We will pray," he said, "for peace and mutual understanding between all.

Tadeusz Mzowiecki and his entourage toured the monastery. They also visited the Orthodox Church just when the priest was directing the sign of peace to the congregation during a mass.

The Polish prime minister toured a museum featuring a collection of the greatest treasures of the Orthodox Church and its culture.

Mazowiecki met with students of the theological academy and seminary. "I have come here as a head of government to reaffirm and inspire further friendship and alliance between our states. I have come here also as a Pole and believer," he said, addressing the meeting.

Representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church stated that they particularly value the visit by the Polish premier since, as they put it, they meet with someone who understands spiritual things and needs.

Mazowiecki Leaves Moscow

LD2711102689 Warsaw PAP in English 1007 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 27—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on an official visit to the USSR, left Moscow for Leningrad today. At the Wnukovo Airport he was bidden farewell by Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Fairer USSR Economic Relationship Urged

AU2211161289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Nov 89 p 2

[Tomasz Bartoszewicz commentary: "Economic Cooperation With the USSR—Nothing Must Remain Unsaid"]

[Text] In the past—one hopes that period has passed away for good—one could only write about relations with the Soviet Union in a highly stereotypical way. All criticism was immediately crossed out by the red pencil of one's superior, and should he have missed anything, there was always the censor.

Speaking objectively, these stereotypes only damaged the well-understood interests of our partners. Public opinion simply did not believe the propaganda, even at those times when that propaganda was telling the truth. The most effective way to destroy goodwill is by trying to impose it by force.

Today one can write freely. However, this does not make the role of the writer, conscious of the state of mind of his readers, any easier. The readers are waiting in anticipation for numerous "revelations" which will confirm street rumor gossip, gossip which is very often far removed from the actual truth.

The history of Polish-USSR economic relations is full of issues and question marks that require being brought out into the open and answered. It would be an exaggeration to call these issues "blank spots," however, our excessive tendency to "mystify" and to sanctify the past requires that the answers to the questions that are troubling public opinion should be given quickly. This especially concerns the following matters:

—Why are we at the present time still paying off our indebtedness to the USSR (the balance of Polish exports to the Soviet Union over imports from that country has exceeded R1.1 billion in the first 10 months of 1989) when our other creditors have agreed to postpone repayments?

—How much is the import of Soviet raw materials and fuels really costing us, bearing in mind the huge cost of our participating in the so-called raw-material capital investment projects, which are priced according to binding internal Soviet cost estimates?

—To what extent does the completely unreal exchange rate of the convertible ruble to the U.S. dollar—a rate that is fixed unilaterally by the Soviet Gosbank—influence the profitability of Polish-Soviet trade?

—To what extent is the international agreement signed in 1986 and which fixes the quantities of Polish fruit and vegetable exports to the USSR until the year 2000 still valid?

—Is it true that the decrease in imports from the Soviet Union this year is one of the main causes of the supply difficulties of our industry?

I have asked the above questions without wishing to "stir" things up. It is important that in our relations with the USSR nothing remains unsaid. Society has to learn to what extent economic cooperation with our Eastern neighbor is profitable for Poland.

We must also realize that the very same questions are being asked by people on the other side of the border. In the USSR, conversely, there is the strongly held conviction that the need to "assist" Poland is one of the chief reasons why the Soviet economy finds itself in its current economic difficulties. This results from a lack of credible information during the period which, in the USSR of today, is referred to as "the period of stagnation."

Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow is an event that will resound far beyond the sphere of Polish-Soviet relations. It will be followed with interest by the whole world. It is, after all, the first occasion that the Soviet leadership will meet the new premier.

The main topic of conversation will no doubt be economic matters. The current difficulties of both countries mean that the list of mutual recriminations is bound to be long. We, for example, are not fulfilling our part in ship and coal deliveries, and the Soviet side is causing difficulties in the supply of electricity and various raw materials.

The talks will be difficult and many questions can only be solved at the so-called political level. Success depends on goodwill.

The premier's mission in Moscow will be difficult. The significance of our economic relations with the USSR is huge. Our industry relies to a great extent on Soviet supplies of raw materials, that is to say, these supplies influence the size of our production figures for many goods. Social expectations in this area are very large, especially because the complicating element in this

matter is the already mentioned issue of things left "unsaid." This issue does not relate only to the past.

One can only hope that the sympathetic interest in Polish transformation, expressed in the Soviet Union on so many occasions, will transform itself into a factor that will overcome any strong particularisms. Similarly, one would like to believe that the various incidents perpetrated by irresponsible youth or extremists, whose slogans are scrawled in chalk on walls or are carried on placards and which cannot but offend the sensibilities of the general public, will not get in the way of these talks. These actions deserve to be condemned, but by themselves they cannot change the fact that our alliance today is being built on wider and stronger foundations, for the reason that behind the premier and his government there stands a society which has full confidence in them. In essence it means that hackneyed slogans of the past on Polish-Soviet friendship will now find a real basis in a new reality and the mutual economic and political relationship.

Jaruzelski's Comments on Katyn, Soviets

AU2211162589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The Truth About the Tragedy at Katyn Must Not Cast a Shadow on Polish-Soviet Relations"]

[Excerpts] On 18 November, at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw—at the invitation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski—there was a meeting of various representatives of social circles, institutions, and organizations which are interested in the tragic fate of Polish prisoners of war, as well as all those other people who were interned in the Soviet Union during the last war.

Polish members of the joint Polish-Soviet historians commission were also present. The historians commission came into being after the signing of the joint declaration by Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski in April 1987, and which contains provisions for the joint investigation of "blank spots" in Polish-Soviet history. [passage omitted]

The president spoke on two occasions during the meeting. He talked about the moral and historical duty that we owe to the victims who came from the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkow Soviet camps. The memory of those victims had sunk very deeply into the subconscious of the Polish people. Our knowledge about the Katyn matter, and the other very painful facts that come from the period 1939 to 1945, is becoming fuller. The April 1987 declaration opened up new possibilities, and a lot had been achieved in the last 3 years.

The president stressed that this problem was being discussed openly and frankly with various representatives of the Soviet authorities, and lately with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, during his recent stay in Warsaw. Mikhail Gorbachev talked about Katyn, and the other facts from the history of Polish-Soviet relation's during his visit to Poland last year. The communique issued on the occasion of Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, in April of this year, states the joint desire to speed up the investigation, especially in the matter of Katyn.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski mentioned the past role of the Polish church in highlighting these issues and whose ultimate symbol became Katyn. In its activity in this field, the church avoided a simplistic approach and aggravating the situation, which could have had a negative effect on Polish-Soviet relations.

The president expressed the wish that the documents and conclusions that had been forwarded to the Soviet side by the Polish historians, and the Polish general prosecutor, would prove of assistance in eliciting a conclusive response to the Katyn issue and the fate of all Polish prisoners of war in Soviet prisoner of war camps. The highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic will continue their efforts toward this aim.

It is also important—continued President Wojciech Jaruzelski—that this be done in a spirit of truth, and in agreement with historical facts. The conclusions must answer the expectations that Polish society has, and the demands of the Polish raison d'etat. Additionally, the truth about these tragic moments in our joint history—underlined President Jaruzelski—must not be allowed to cast a shadow on the furture of Polish-Soviet relations, especially as the Soviet people also, suffered gravely, and were themselves victims of Stalinist repressions. This fact is worth remembering, especially at a time when the crimes perpetrated by the Stalinist system of repression, are being used to push the bestialities perpetrated by Hitlerite fascism on the whole Polish nation, into the background. [passage omitted]

Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, secretary general of the Polish Episcopate, supported the project of creating a new state commission, and stressed, that apart from the people who served in the last commission, people who were independently researching this subject, and the representatives of veterans associations who were living abroad, should also be members of this commision. He also suggested that a proper memorial should be erected in Katyn—a memorial which would symbolize not just the crime, but also superior human values, which would be very important for the future reconciliation between people. [passage omitted]

During the meeting, it was stressed that a mutual coming to terms with the painful facts of history by the two peoples, would serve the future of Polish-Soviet relations.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski concluded that the meeting had been highly useful, and was one more example in the process of building a platform of national understanding in matters that were highly important for the nation's subconscious, as well as for the Polish raison d'etat.

New Czech Party Leadership 'Not Enough'

LD2511130189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Commentary by Andrzej Zychowicz]

[Text] Bismarck once said that whoever held Czechoslovakia held the key to rule over Europe. That dictum reflected the 19th-century way of conducting policy, based on a game of interests by the great powers, taking no account of the aspirations of societies and peoples. That was the so-called realpolitik; and one must say it was in the spirit of the same realpolitik that the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Treaty in 1968 was justified, alongside ideological pretexts, of course, such as fraternal aid in saving socialism.

Today too, in the autumn of 1989, Czechoslovakia has a key strategic significance, but not in the way Bismarck meant. One is not talking about great power strategy, based on armed force, but about the strategy of the social movements demanding freedom and democracy in central Europe. GDR society moved, taking Poland and Hungary as their example and at present, after 8 days of mass protest, the anachronistic structures in Czechoslovakia have toppled. Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia comprise 80 million people and a great economic potential, although one impaired by a faulty system of management. The Prague Spring has come again to the streets of Prague this autumn. Aleksandr Dubcek and Vaclav Havel drank champagne in its honor, when they heard of the fall of Milos Jakes and his obdurate team.

There is new leadership at the head of the Communist Party, but that is not enough. The departure of discredited politicians and the appearance of new faces is not the point; the point is to liquidate the monopoly of power by one party; to replace a totalitarian system by a system of parliamentary democracy; to guarantee freedom of speech and assembly. That is what Czechoslovak society is demanding.

Ceausescu Discusses East European Changes

AU2711134089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 16 Nov 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With PRENSA LATINA"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/11/1989—In his interview of 13 November with the Cuban news agency "PRENSA LATINA," released today, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary, President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu approached the following questions inter alia:

Romania's Socio-Economic Development

Setting forth the record on the 45 years since the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, since the Ninth Party Congress of 1965 in particular, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that in this historically short period of time, from a little developed agrarian-industrial country Romania had grown into an industrial-agrarian country, with a powerful, modern industry, set on the latest advances of science and technology, and a flourishing socialist agriculture.

In all those successes, he pointed out, a decisive role was played by the Ninth Party Congress, which put an end to the policy of blind acceptance, of mechanically copying what other countries did, and to the so-called single model, restoring the party and the people to their dignity, to confidence in their own forces, and undertaking to achieve socialism in agreement with realities in Romania, certainly on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of objective laws, which, as is known differ in their application from one country to another and from one development stage to another.

We set all our activities on the principles of self-management, self-administration and self-financing. We broadly developed the democratic forms of management in all fields setting out from the scientific principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, he said, stressing that all these achievements were made possible by the powerful development of the property of all people and of cooperatives, that Romania's accomplishments stand proof of the superiority of socialism.

Referring to the basic goals in the next five years 1991-1996 and in the period ahead, until the years 2000-2010, Nicolae Ceausescu said inter alia: We plan a more marked intensive growth of all branches of activity, an improvement of the quality and performance of the Romanian products, so that they may compete with the best around the world.

We will continue to pay special attention to both industry and agriculture, which are the basic branches of socioeconomic development in our country. We plan a high level of accumulation also in the next five years and in the long range by allotting 28-30 per cent of the national income for that purpose. That will give us the required means for the country's overall development and help us attain the strategic aim of building the multilaterally developed socialist society until the year 2000 and put the conditions in place for our advancement to communism.

Romania's Repayment of Its Foreign Debt

Early this decade Romania's debt did stand at eleven billion dollars. International bodies and the International Monetary Fund in particular wanted to take advantage of that situation and interfere with the problems related to our country's development the way they actually do now, too, in the case of numerous countries. Having initially agreed to a number of terms, very soon afterwards we decided to reject the International Monetary Fund's claims, which would led to disorganization in the Romanian socialist society, and we started to pay our entire debt off as soon as possible.

Naturally, we needed almost nine years to do that as, besides the debt proper, we also had to pay an almost as large sum in interest charges. However, with the strength and development of the Romanian economy, we had the necessary means to repay our entire debt late in March.

Over the respective interval we continued to allot to development roughly 3,000 billion lei, that is the equivalent of 300 billion dollars or so.

Furthermore, I should like to stress that we also worked for a continuous rise in the working people's incomes by increasing all working people's pays, as well as pensions twice. Therefore, while we were paying our debt the country developed further and the people's standard of living went higher.

We consider that with the payment of its debt Romania put an end to economic dependence and, for the first time in its long-standing history it no longer has to pay tributes and interest charges to anyone and its national income as a whole is used in the interest of the Romanian people. I believe this is the first time that Romania is truly independent from both the economic and the political viewpoints.

We decided to no longer resort to any kinds of credits since, given the inordinately high interest charges, credits are in fact a way for the international financial capital and international monopolies to exert oppression. In this way, part of the national income goes to the imperialist countries and in the future we intend to no longer finance the imperialist countries, we want everything we produce to be used for Romania's growth and for the people's higher living-standard.

Romania's Policy for the Development of the Rural Area

In building socialism in Romania we have set out from the need to distribute the forces of production—and to locate industry, the other fields, and agriculture, too—in

all the country's zones and counties, which virtually helped us develop all the counties and zones of the country powerfully.

At the same time, we started from the need to develop self-management and self-sufficiency in all our country's localities. Today, virtually all communes and towns and counties, too, are self-financed and we plan to further apply that policy. As a matter of fact, according to the programme-directive for the country's economic and social development, all localities and counties work out their own socioeconomic development programmes, which make an integral part of the overall programme for the country's growth.

In communes, emphasis will be placed on agriculture, on the small industry and on services, so that ever better living conditions may be offered to all village residents.

We showed concern for the avoidance of excessive concentration of people in towns and, with socioeconomic development measures as a basis, we intend to do our utmost so that the population may stay in the communes and localities where they live at present. Besides economic development, we also plan to provide for the growth of instructional forms, including 12-year education, to improve health care and cultural activities, to create everything that is necessary to offer village residents the best possible conditions, similar to those in towns.

This will undoubtedly be a long process, but we believe we cannot advance on the road to socialism unless we raise the living standard in the countryside.

On the Changes Under Way in a Number of Socialist Countries in Europe

The RCP believes that the problems related to socialist construction should be solved by every party and every people according to the specific realities in each country.

We considered the principle which, as a matter of fact, is a basic principle of scientific socialism and was asserted more than once by Marx and Engels, the fathers of the revolutionary outlook on world and life, that socialism is built in forms that differ from one country to another, from one development stage to another.

There is indeed much talk in a number of socialist countries about changes and about a renewal of socialism Nicolae Ceausescu showed. If these changes are wrought on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and if the aim pursued is to improve and better organize society and the activity as a whole and to provide conditions for the people's more active participation in management, with a view to achieving faster progress of the road to socialism, then everything is just fine.

The hardships that occurred in a number of countries are not due to socialism but to an improper application of the socialist principles, to the neglect of some of these basic principles. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of other parties or other countries. Romania and the RCP consider, however, that the problems should be solved only starting from the need to strengthen socialist property—the property of the whole people and cooperative property—that any return to capitalist forms of ownership will only weaken and do harm to socialism and to the rise in the people's standard of living, Nicolae Ceausescu added.

In our party's opinion, he pointed out the problems related to the improvement of the forms of societal organization and management cannot be solved once and for all, they should be in the focus of every party and people, all while the forces of production, science and culture should be continuously developed. Which is a law-like necessity of societal development. That is why the fact should be always considered that the basic principles of socialism cannot be replaced, that neither the property of the whole people nor cooperative property can be given up to make room for the capitalist property, for profiteering and inequality. On the contrary, socialism should provide for the resolution of social questions in the best possible way, according to the principles of social justice and equity.

The society should provide both the means for future development and the most equitable remuneration and living conditions in general. We are not for absolute equality but then neither are we for a marked disproportion between high and low incomes. Socialism cannot ease the way to higher incomes for a small number of rich people all while increasing the number of the poor. Socialism cannot ease the way to unemployment and other inequalities, which are specific to the capitalist society.

It is in this spirit that we regard the questions related to the improvement of socialist development, Nicolae Ceausescu said and showed concern over developments in a number of countries, as well as over some measures which are virtually tantamount to deviation from and abdication of the principles of socialism. As a socialist country, however, as a Communist Party, we consider that the socialist countries and the communist parties should talk these problems over. We believe that such discussion is needed not to impose a certain way to overcome the difficulties that cropped up but to draw conclusions as to the way in which we could work more efficiently while allowing each party and country to solve their problems as they think best. We, naturally, consider that the parties are responsible before their own peoples for the ways and forms of organization they choose, but, in the spirit of international solidarity, we are of the opinion that responsibility for the cause of socialism in general, for the future of socialism in the world should be considered.

The Main Ways To Strengthen Cooperation With the Neighbouring States

Romania declares for a broad collaboration among all states, irrespective of social system. We naturally pay

special attention to cooperation in Europe, to disarmament. We state for a united Europe, of independent and free nations, without any outside interference. We start from the fact that the existence of free states and nations is a necessary objective in our epoch and for a long time to come—as this is the only basis providing for socio-economic progress and peace in the world.

We pay great attention to collaboration in the Balkans. We wish this area would be not only a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and of foreign military bases, but also a region of broad economic, technical and scientific collaboration. We wish barriers of different kinds would be overcome and a closer rapprochement among Balkan countries would develop to the end of attaining their economic and social progress—all while preserving each nation's independence, however.

This is the way we also regard cooperation in various other parts of the world, between various economic bodies and organizations, in Latin America included. These cooperative ties, set on like principles, are very necessary; they can and they must help the consolidation of the development and independence of smaller countries, which should be supported so that they may stand the pressure exerted by great powers and also ensure their appropriate participation in international collaboration and in the settlement of the various highly complex issues in today's world.

Romania's Relations With Latin American Countries

We consider Romania's relations with Latin American countries fine, in broad lines, although the economic crisis and the current questions related to underdevelopment posed difficulties to the expansion of Romania's economic ties with these countries.

Nicolae Ceausescu showed that there were fine prospects in store for their expansion—primarily in the economic, technical and scientific areas—to allow each country's development as well as a more active collaboration in the settlement of the complex issues of the contemporary world.

Referring to the relations between Romania and Cuba Nicolae Ceausescu said they were fine.

We believe that Romania and Cuba, which build the socialist society according to their specific realities and conditions, should further strengthen their cooperation and work together with the other countries in Latin America and with other states, in the spirit of equality and mutual advantage, for each country's economic and social development and higher civilization standard. As far as our two countries are concerned, we consider that both Romania and Cuba work firmly for the socialist development of our two peoples, all while contributing to the general progress of socialism, to the policy of peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu also pointed out that the participation of Romania and of Cuba in the Security Council, as non-permanent members, would allow the two countries to work more actively for greater attention to be paid to the settlement of the issues related to disarmament and underdevelopment, the liquidation of various states' interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. We consider that taking part in the activity of the Security Council we must do our utmost to help it better fulfill its role in ensuring the more powerful assertion in interstate relations of the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and peoples.

PRC Party Newspaper Interviews Ceausescu

AU1811170689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1807 GMT 17 Nov 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With the Newspaper RENMIN RIBAO"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/11/1989—In the interview President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, granted to the special envoy of the "RENMIN RIBAO" daily, organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on 14 November and released today, the RCP and Romanian state leader showed that the 14th Congress of the RCP—due on 20 November—would draw a balance sheet of the socio-economic development, of the socialist construction in Romania and would endorse the long-term programme for the country's development in the ninth five-year period and until the years 2000-2010. After he described Romania's achievements in the socialist construction, Nicolae Ceausescu evinced the particular importance of the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), when, he showed, an end had been put to negative states of affairs and the thesis of the "single model," the experience or practice of others, the position of bowing to foreign countries had been given up to restore the party and people to their dignity and confidence in their own forces and to undertake the construction of socialism on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism, applied to conditions in Romania.

Referring to the big revolutionary changes scored by Romania along the socialist path, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that we developed powerfully the socialist property of the whole people and of cooperatives, which is the decisive factor of all our accomplishments, in step with the development of forces of production, of industry, agriculture, and we paid great attention to science, education, culture, as decisive factors of the entire socio-economic development.

Likewise, we started from the fact that socialism should achieve the highest democracy, create the best conditions for the masses' and the whole people's participation in decision-making regarding internal and external policy, in the entire activity of socialist construction, the Romanian head of state said, recalling the measures to improve the activity of the state, of the Grand National Assembly, of the people's councils, the new democratic

forms of management as well as the introduction of the principles of self- management, self-administration and self-financing in all fields of activity. Securing growth of all sectors of activity, we also paid special attention to the rise in the standard of living, materially and spiritually, of the entire nation, he said and pointed out that over 1950-1989, the remuneration fund grew over 33 times, and the net average pay of the working personnel about ten times.

We distributed the industry throughout the country's territory which provided for the rise in the standard of civilization and for true equality of rights among all the homeland's citizens.

Underscoring the wide scope of the construction of houses, of social, health care, education and cultural establishments, Nicolae Ceausescu said that today about 82 per cent of the town residents of the country—and in Bucharest about 90 per cent—lived in new houses, which showed Romania to have reached a high level of socio-economic development, fulfilled the strategic aim to pass to the stage of a medium-developed socialist country.

All these successes were possible owing to the fact that after the Ninth Congress, we allotted about 30-33 per cent of the national income to development, the president added and mentioned that the congress would underscore forcefully that those achievements had been possible only relying on the complete eradication of man's exploitation by man, on the firm passage to the application of the socialist principles.

Presenting the objectives of the next five-year plan (1991-1995) and the long-term ones, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that special heed was given to intensive development, the modernization and organization upon scientific bases of the entire activity in industry, farming and in other sectors.

In the 1991-1995 five-year period too, he stressed, we should continue to emplace the forces of production throughout the territory of the country so as to raise the economic and social level of all counties and localities.

Showing that the housing problem in towns and cities would be settled by 1995, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the level of communes and villages too, would be raised. We will build—with state support—new homes for workers and experts in communes, will assist the village residents in building better homes for themselves, in a better organization and planning in all localities. All these measures, that will lay great stress on the socio-economic development of every locality, will ensure to people in communes and villages ever better conditions of work, incomes, education, health care, cultural activity, he said, stressing that ever better conditions would be created for bringing the living standard of the village working people closer to that in towns, considering it to be a law-like necessity of building the socialist society in Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that due attention would be further paid to consolidating the whole people's and cooperative property, the socialist property, as the base or the whole socio- economic development and that the socialist principles of social justice and equity would be firmly applied, "considering that the socialist society must do everything possible so that there should no longer be too-rich people and too-poor people, so that the means society avails of at certain moment should be equitably distributed in the spirit of the socialist principles, in keeping with the country's development level." In that context, the Romanian head of state stressed that one of the fundamental issues of socialist development was the whole people's and cooperative ownership of the means of production, the well-balanced distribution, upon socialist principles of the national product. It is only upon this basis, he stressed, that a best, equitable ratio between incomes can be ensured, that ever better and similar working and living conditions can be created for all citizens of the homeland. In no way can one allow and we will not allow that incomes be obtained without work or on account of other's work. We want the incomes of all citizens of Romania to be only the result of their work and activity, in various sectors of activity.

Making an assessment of the development prospects of the ties of friendship between the parties and peoples of China and Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed with great satisfaction that the relations between the RCP and CPC, between Romania and China were very good, adding: They have seen powerful development—and as I assessed together with the comrades in the Chinese party and state leadership—they stood many difficulties proving their lastingness and witnessing steady growth. This is due to the fact that our two parties and peoples, the leaderships of our two parties and countries set out from the socialist principles of relations of full equality and collaboration in view of each country's socialist development.

Considering that there were wonderful prospects for the further growth of collaboration and solidarity between the two parties and peoples, Nicolae Ceausescu further said: It is true, there are many problems in the world. The international situation is quite complex. This calls now more than ever before for the consolidation of collaboration between the communist parties, between the socialist countries and, in this respect, I want to emphasize that we attach great significance to the collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. There are great prospects for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, taking into account both Romania's and China's programmes for development and construction of socialism, certainly, in keeping with the realities in each country.

At the same time, given the international situation, action should be taken, and we think our parties and countries will do their best, for the settlement of the present-day complex issues, in the interest of the socialist development of our countries and of other states, in the

general interest of all peoples' socioeconomic progress, of disarmament and, first of all, of nuclear disarmament, of the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order on the basis of new type interstate relations of real equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs.

That is why, Nicolae Ceausescu said in conclusion, we see the perspectives of the Romanian-Chinese collaboration as very important and we think we have all conditions to achieve a fine collaboration, considering the positions of our parties and countries, on the international issues included. As for Romania, it will further work with all its forces along this line.

KUWAIT TIMES Interviews Ceausescu

JN2111184689 Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 20 Nov 89 pp 1,8-9

["Exclusive" interview with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu by KUWAIT TIMES publisher Yusuf 'Ulayyan and Ibrahim Shammas in Bucharest "on the eve of the Romanian Comunist Party's Fourteenth Congress"]

[Text] Question: That your country managed to repay its debt in record time—and it is the only country in the world to have managed it—is a fine example to the developing countries which, though theoretically free, are practically in a permanent state of subservience. In consideration of the fact that the Amir of Kuwait also put before the UN proposals to reduce interest rates and the poor countries' debts, do you, Mr President, think that you and our Amir should have a dialogue on this topic and together add to the outlook on the repayment of the small and medium-sized countries' foreign debts?

Ceausescu: I think you know that the Amir of Kuwait has been invited to pay a visit to Romania and that he will be welcome to our country any time. Therefore, we will be able to talk about it on that occasion. As for the debts, well, you are right, the developing countries are in a difficult position indeed! This year, too, Romania made a number of proposals - both to the International Monetary Fund and at the UN—for the calling of an international conference under UN aegis to solve underdevelopment-related questions and the developing countries foreign-debt problem. I repeat, the developing countries will not be able to pay their debts and that is why at least part of those debts should be written off, interest should be radically cut and outstanding debts should be rescheduled on a long-term basis. Naturally, the developing countries should make serious efforts themselves to secure their economic and social development. To this end, they will need credits but these credits should be on other terms—account being taken, primarily, of the socio-economic targets. Furthermore, interest rates should be brought to a reasonable level. If high interests are maintained, these peoples will continue to be enslaved and oppressed.

Question: The Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], to which the proposal for your re-election as General Secretary will be submitted for approval, is due in a few days. As one could hardly speak about the development of Romanian society without considering your personal role in leading the country to the major results it has had in the economic, social and cultural areas, we should like you, Mr President, to outline the Romanian people's achievements on an internal and international plane, as well as the targets you wish to take Romania to in the future.

Ceausescu: The Fourteenth Congress of the RCP will open on Nov. 20. The Thesis and the Programme-Directive were released in preparation for the Congress. They are a synthesis of Romania's accomplishments and they place special emphasis on its long-term programme. For more than four months the whole party and all people discussed these documents, in the spirit of revolutionary worker democracy at work in our country, of the scientific outlook according to which we build socialism with the people and for the people. Therefore, everything we set to achieve should be the whole nation's opinion.

The Congress will assess our achievements in 45 years, as well as the stage Romania has attained.

Four and a half decades have passed since the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, which abolished foreign domination and paved the road for Romania's independent development. Forty years ago we started organising our country's economy on socialist bases. Romania was a little developed country, with a poor industry and an old-type agriculture. That was an outcome of the specific historical conditions in which our country had developed, of foreign domination—which had lasted for hundreds of years and had compelled us to pay tribute to foreign empires for centuries on end—to the fact that after the accomplishment of the unitary national state the country's riches went into the hands of foreign monopolies and financial capital. Therefore, contributing to the development of others, Romania remained a poor country.

In the years of socialism, in a historically short period, we made Romania an industrial-agrarian country, boasting a modern industry set on the latest gains in science and technology, and a flourishing socialist agriculture. The Romanian industry produces over 140 times more today than it did back in 1945—and 120 times as much as in 1965 when the Ninth Party Congress was held. Today, the Romanian industry can produce equipment, machines and devices that meet the highest scientific and technical standards and vie with the world's best.

Agriculture has made good progress, its output having increased ten times over 1945. This year we had a cereal production of more than 60 million tonnes. With roughly 3,000 kgs of cereals per capita this is the largest

production in Romania's history. There are few countries in the world that can get such a harvest! And I should like to tell you that we did that not by extending the arable area, as we do not have extra areas like other countries, but by promoting a modern, intensive-type agriculture, set on the best achievements of the agricultural sciences.

The national income went up more than 40 times. As a matter of fact, international statistics mention the truth that Romania is one of the countries that boast the best results in socio-economic development over the respective interval.

Undoubtedly, there were considerable efforts behind all this but we considered we had to do our utmost to end the state of economic backwardness in a short lapse of t me and to create the material and technical base of a civilised, modern society, to offer the people the best living conditions. We have never received anything for free—not from anyone! Our every achievement is the fruit of our people's work and effort, the result and this is something I should like to stress—of the correct policy promoted by the RCP, which identified itself with the people's aspirations after a dignified, free and independent life.

After the Ninth Congress in 1965 as many as 30-35 per cent of the national income went to development. It was on that basis that we could actually provide for the marked growth of the forces of production and of the national economy as a whole, all while taking the people's standard of living higher.

These are our achievements we will report to the party's Fourteenth Congress, stressing that they were only made possible by the socialist society that was built in Romania! Romania's past condition entitles us to this assessment, as well as the fact that we could eradicate the state of backwardness and take Romania to a high socio-economic development level only in the conditions of socialism.

However, industry and agriculture were not the only areas we developed. We modernised our country's towns and villages. Anyone may note the vast scope of housebuilding and the social, cultural, learning and health units that were built. So, for instance, 90 per cent of our capital city's residents live in new homes today and more than 80 per cent of the population of all towns moved to new dwellings. And we plan to solve the housing problem in towns until 1995.

The programme-directive to be discussed and endorsed by the Fourteenth Congress provides for the further development of Romania's industry and agriculture, of the other areas of activity. However, in consideration of the level Romanian industry has attained, we will concentrate on intensive growth, meaning the updating of the activity as a whole and its organisation according to the latest advances in science and technology. Furthermore, we will work to place agriculture and the other sectors on the very same bases.

Our activities will focus on the more marked growth of science, education and culture, since progress in any society—therefore in the socialist society, too—depends on the newest gains of science and technology. And we do have fine results in this field. We boast a strong research staff and we intend to make Romania a powerful force of science and to give the people a thorough technical, scientific and cultural training in the next five years and until the years 2000-2010. To this end, we decided to generalise compulsory 12-year education this year and I should like to point out that education as a whole, including academic education, is free of charge in Romania.

We will continue to pay due attention to the improvement of the whole nation's working and living conditions, considering that man, his welfare and happiness are the essence of the party's policy, the foremost goal of the socialist society.

We plan to take a big stride on the road of economic and social development until 1995 and we intend to carry through the programme for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society until the year 2000, to thus put conditions in place for a passage to a higher stage of socialism, to communism. In the year 2000 Romania will be a powerfully developed country that can start working to attain that outstanding target!

Question: We know your contribution to everything Romania has achieved. We should like to ask you whether in the next stage you will also candidate for re-election as president of the Republic.

Ceausescu: The country party conferences voted for my re-election as General Secretary of the party. Naturally, this is something that the Congress will decide. Parliamentary elections—therefore also for the presidency of Romania—will be held next spring. Therefore, it is the party's Central Committee and the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, which gathers all our country's social and political forces that will make the decision on the country's presidency.

Question: Mr President, the day you announced Romania had repaid its foreign debt you showed the whole world your country's capacity for resistance in the economic area. Speaking about your peoples' experience what would you recommend other peoples still in the grips of debt to do to relieve its pressure? If credits are renounced what alternative do you see for the Third World? Which are the possible solutions to their relations with rich countries, and the possibilities to find a formula for international economic balance?

Ceausescu: As for the foreign debt, I should like to point out that it stood at more than $11 billion early this decade. As you know, interest rates were and still are inordinately high. Which was why Romania had to pay more than it had borrowed, and that undoubtedly bore negatively on its socio-economic development.

I must tell you openly that we felt neither truly independent nor free when others stood at the door, as they say, waiting for us to pay our debt and trying to impose conditions as to the way in which we should better organise our socio-economic activity. As a matter of fact, it is known that at present, too, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—not to mention the other imperialist banks and monopolies—set very heavy terms and inadmissibly interfere in the internal affairs of states, guiding—wrongly—the activity in various countries. I make this point because no country that followed the advise offered by world economic bodies managed to score points on economic development, or succeeded in boosting its people's living standard.

All this made us decide to pay our foreign debt as soon as possible. It took nine years to do that all while continuing to provide the necessary means for economic growth and for a higher standard of living for the people. Since 1980 we have invested nearly 3,000 billion lei—that is, the equivalent of $300 billion—in the country's socio-economic development. With that as a basis we raised the level of the economy in broad lines and we also put the conditions in place for the repayment of our foreign debt.

Having repaid our entire foreign debt this March, it is for the first time in the country's modern history that we no longer pay tribute or interest, and are truly independent—economically and politically—and everything we achieve in Romania no longer goes to international monopolies and banks, but is used to develop the country, to lift the people's living standard!

Since you asked about the conclusion that could be drawn from Romania's accomplishment, I can tell you that, naturally, this is a problem every country should solve in its own way but I think that the developing countries should give priority to problems related to the development of an independent economy.

The foreign-debt problem is a serious problem! I do not intend to recommend these countries to follow Romania's example. What I would nevertheless advise them to do—and Romania upholds this way—is to work for a comprehensive solution to the foreign-debt problem through the conversion of at least part of those debts into grants, and the reduction of the inordinately high, enslaving interest rates to, let's say, symbolic levels, and through the rescheduling of the outstanding debt on a long-term basis so as to allow the developing countries to concentrate their efforts on socio-economic growth. This is really the only way!

Romania could repay its foreign debt because it developed its economy powerfully. The countries that now embark on the road of building an independent economy cannot do it; they should necessarily find a solution by way of negotiations between rich and poor countries. An end should be put to the current state of affairs when—as data supplied by international financial bodies actually show—the poor countries continue to finance the rich by paying interest rates worth tens of billions of dollars annually. As a matter of fact, this financing is even more substantial when it comes to prices and to other ways.

Therefore, new-type economic relations and a new world economic order are needed, which calls for solidarity and unity among developing countries, so that they should be able to build new international relations. Which is also in the interest of rich countries as economic problems and the world economic crisis will not be surmounted unless underdevelopment-related questions are solved. The developing nations, which account for two thirds of mankind, will not be able to tolerate oppression, inequality and the state of backwardness for too long!

Question: This year you had several meetings with President Gorbachev, with the other leaders of the socialist states in the Warsaw Treaty. How do you—with your long and rich experience in the management of the socialist construction process—see the political, economic and pragmatic changes under way in some of these countries?

Ceausescu: There have been many changes in the international life. Nevertheless, the world situation is grave, complex and contradictory. The war threat persists, the arms race has not ended and the two big nuclear powers, just as other states continue their nuclear tests and the manufacture of new nuclear arms, are concerned with their modernisation. As is well known, not long ago, NATO decided to update a whole family of short-range and tactical nuclear weapons, which means a several-time increase of their destructive capacity. In consideration of the fact that a potential war would inevitably lead to the destruction of mankind, to the annihilation of life on our planet, disarmament—nuclear in the first place—is the fundamental issue of our epoch.

Under these circumstances, we are of the opinion that all peoples must do everything they can to put an end to nuclear arming, to any nuclear weapons test and modernisation and start cuts in all nuclear arms as soon as possible—until the years 2000 as the Soviet Union proposed. An accord between the Soviet Union and the USA on strategic arms and their reduction is very important but unless an end is put to the manufacture of new nuclear weapons, to nuclear tests one cannot say that a passage has really been made to the elimination of nuclear arms on our planet. Therefore, the question is not to replace old weapons with new, more sophisticated ones, but to cease the production of new arms and destroy the existing ones.

This is the fundamental requirement of the whole of mankind and Romania is resolved most firmly to work in this direction cooperating with all states, with all peoples, with all the forces that cherish freedom, independence, peace. We are also for the reduction of conventional weapons to an ever lower level, and to this end, we take an active part in the Vienna negotiations as we wish that an appropriate accord be reached as soon as possible. We also stand for deep cuts in military

spending and for the use of the respective means for socio-economic development, for the eradication of underdevelopment included.

There are many grave problems awaiting solution—economic, political, and military. More and more questions are being asked on how these problems should be addressed, on the ways to solve them. The economic crisis has affected practically all countries. Even in the most developed countries the rate of unemployment is known to be pretty high and there are countries where working conditions are not ensured to 30-40 per cent of the youths. The number of the homeless is growing and so is poverty—according to those countries' official data. In the United States of America, for instance, more than 30 million people live below the poverty line. Unfortunately, illiteracy has been on the rise, including in the developed countries. To say nothing of other social problems—crime and drugs which have developed into national problems in certain countries.

Of course the causes are more than one, but in my opinion the first is the government's improper way of addressing the fundamental problems of individuals, of peoples to ensure the conditions for life, work, welfare. More than $1,200 billion are spent on arming every year! If that expenditure were cut by, say 50 per cent, practically all these problems could be resolved, and the general standard of living would be raised.

It is in this context that the problems of the socialist countries should be seen. Overall, the socialist countries have had remarkable results in socio-economic development. I would only refer to the Soviet Union—and the level it had started from—which has nevertheless grown into a developed country, being one of the world's two great powers. And yet problems and difficulties did arise in the socialist countries as well. Here, in my opinion, the cause should be sought in certain mistakes in the administration of society, being related also to high spending on arms. It was not realised in due course that new forms, new ways of organising and administering society were necessary to match the changes and the development of science, of culture. Therefore, the problems are not caused by too much socialism, but by failure to properly put the socialist principles to work, by the disregard of some of these principles.

Of course these were problems that we discussed in the CMEA economic organisms and in the Warsaw Treaty.

As far as the international situation is concerned, there is one opinion only—on the necessity of the policy of disarmament, of peace, of achieving relations of full equality among all peoples.

As concerns socialist construction, we always set out from the idea that each country, each party should resolve its own problems as it thinks best, by taking the realities and the specifics into account.

As far back as 1965 the "single model" idea was dropped in Romania where socialism was to be built so as to suit realities in it. We stopped copying others, kowtowing to others. We adopted such development forms as we thought the new realities required, including the principles of self-administration, self-management, self-financing. We broadly developed new democratic forms of administration of society, also increasing the role and attributions of the Grand National Assembly, and we created also new organisms—the councils of working people—in all units, the general meetings of working people in their capacity as owners and producers. We created national congress and councils of various segments of working people which in fact ensure the democratic participation of all social categories, of all people in the administration of society and the construction of socialism. We formulated the scientific thesis of socialist construction with the people for the people.

We considered—and still do—that the forms of administration of society should be improved, that nothing is forever. What is good and appropriate at one time may eventually no longer be so, and should be changed. The idea that what was done at one time should last forever cannot be upheld, because this would actually mean to go backwards. So, we think that to improve the forms of administration, of management of society is a necessary objective.

From this angle, we think it is only natural that the socialist countries should seek the best forms of organisation and administration. What we however do think that should always be borne in mind is that the socialist principles of organisation in society should firmly be put to work. Therefore, the people's ownership of the means of production and cooperative ownership are both socialist forms of the organisation of society. Also, the socialist principles of distribution of the social and national product should be observed—in terms of each person's work and activity, in the spirit of social equity and justice, unless a fair ratio between high and low incomes is achieved, unless good living onditions for all the citizens are created, one can hardly speak of socialism! And certainly the exploitation of man by man should not be accepted in any form! We can hardly speak of socialism if we accept social inequalities, the oppression of man by man. The so-called equality of the various forms of ownership is nonsense because if that were the criterion, we should also accommodate slave-ownership.

So, we think that the improvement of the forms of administration is a necessity—now and in future—but that each country should solve its own problems free from outside interference.

For our part we are fully confident in the might of socialism and we trust that socialism will have fresh achievements. We believe that, historically speaking, socialism is the future of mankind! Sooner or later, mankind will be heading to a world ridded of all oppressors, to a world of free and equal work of all people where everybody can put his creative force in the service of the nation and of his own welfare, which can only be achieved as part of general welfare and along with it.

Question: This certainly is not against the peoples' wish to choose their own development path or the principles of peaceful coexistence which you developed and adapted to the new conditions and specifics of the time we live in.

Ceausescu: We are, were and will be for each people's right to choose its own development path as it wishes but we believe that, sooner or later, all peoples would like to be independent, enjoy better social and national justice, equality.

Of course there are different social systems in the world. They are the result of historical development and will continue for a long time to come. It is important to set out from the idea that, whatever their social system, peoples, states should cooperate, mutually respect their independence and sovereignty, not interfere in domestic affairs, or pretend that what some countries do is good also for others, in other words, that peoples should be left to choose what is in their interest. After all, it is the interest of each people to strongly develop socially and economically, to ensure its own scientific, cultural development, its welfare, to live in full independence and liberty. This certainly does not rule out, but actually implies close cooperation with other peoples—not subordination of other states.

We must build a world where man should be the focus of concern. A world in which all that governments do should concern man, his material welfare, but also the improvement of his knowledge and respect for his freedom and independence.

People cannot live alone all by themselves. Society, the state are modern forms of life together for people—and probably they will always be. This is something that should be observed, the independence of each people should be observed! No one should think one knows better how another people should live. Let each people decide how to order its own life. Then there will be friendship and cooperation, there will be peace in the world!

Question: In consideration of the high level of Romania's relations with the Arab countries, in general, and with the State of Kuwait, in particular, we would like you to tell our readers what direction of action you contemplate to take on the line of your well-known efforts for the convening of an international conference to settle the Middle East crisis, the Arab-Israeli conflict more particularly? What steps should be taken to bring all the parties to a positive dialogue, with the USA included?

Ceausescu: Romania has indeed relations with almost all the Arab states—and economic relations with all these countries. Certainly, in this framework, with some of them—and I may say with most of them—we have very good relations; economic and technical-scientific ties as well as ties of cooperation on political issues, for the settlement of grave international problems.

I would like to re-state in this context that we assess the relations between Romania and Kuwait as good, that they really ensure a good cooperation bilaterally and for the resolution of complex international questions.

As far as we are concerned, we want further to develop broad links with all the Arab countries and, in this context, I mention our wish that relations between Romania and Kuwait become ever stronger in all areas.

I would also like to stress that as concerns the Middle East crisis, Romania has always been for its settlement by way of political negotiations.

We set, from the beginning, from the fact that war, the military way cannot lead to a solution. They can rather complicate problems.

We have always been for the ensurance of the right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state. As a matter of fact, Romania is the first country to have raised in its talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation the question of taking action for the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

We declared and declare for a UN-sponsored international conference. Now, almost all states favour the idea of such a conference to provide for the settlement of the Middle East problems and the establishment of a lasting and just peace. In this context, we think that Israel's position is wrong and against the interests of peace in the Middle East, against the interest of Israel itself.

We welcome PLO's constructive stance on the political resolution of problems, on the necessity of dialogue, of a dialogue with Israel included, as part of the preparations for the international conference, of the peace process. It is its right and indeed, the PLO, the State of Palestine should work and discuss, with Israeli leaders as well, the way to peace. This is not a mistake but a reasonable, wise and necessary policy. That is how we saw things in the past and that is how we see them now.

We are convinced that the international conference will eventually be called and I would like to stress the need for all Arab countries to work more firmly along this line. And, if you want to have my opinion, the Arab countries can do a lot more for a settlement of the Middle East issues. For this end I think that the solidarity of Arab countries should be strengthened, greater support be given to the Palestinian people for the international conference to convene, problems to be solved through negotiations, and the USA be persuaded to adopt a more realistic stance and actively assist in the achievement of peace.

Question: Romania and Kuwait played an important role in encouraging the Lebanese to initiate a national reconciliation dialogue. What steps should in your opinion be taken for a definitive settlement of the Lebanese crisis now, after the new president of Lebanon was designated?

Ceausescu: As far as the situation in Lebanon is concerned, Romania has always been for a political solution, for national reconciliation and the ensurance of an independent, democratic Lebanon. In this direction, Romania's points of view coincided with the stance of Kuwait, with that of many Arab countries, and we are of the opinion that the recent Arab initiatives for a settlement in Lebanon proved out right. I hope that all the forces in Lebanon will understand that they must overcome their divergencies and states of conflict, that there is no other way than reconciliation to ensure the coexistence of the two large communities—Muslim and Christian—with respect for the various conceptions and opinions. I think that all forces must work to ensure Lebanon's independence, economic and social development, to maintain its integrity and democracy.

We worked and will always work in this direction in our relations.

We hope that the new president will manage to rally the Lebanese forces. We understand that this is no easy task, but one must understand that the interests of the Lebanese people, the maintenance of a unitary and independent state are above all.

Question: We would like to know your opinion on the possibilities of broadening trade and cooperation in the economy and tourism between Romania and the Gulf Cooperation Council states. What would you, Mr President, tell the citizens of Kuwait, to the readers of KUWAIT TIMES?

Ceausescu: As for the growth of the economic, technical, scientific, commercial and tourist relations between Romania and the Gulf countries, I may say that their potential is great, taking into consideration the development of Romania, as well as of the Gulf countries, of all Arab countries in general.

We are of the opinion that these links can be developed and we work for a strong growth of the coopertion between Kuwait and our country. Romania can commit itself to carrying through many projects that can meet the highest technical and scientific demands and compare with the world's best. There is no other way and—as activity is going on today—we think that we will achieve a much broader cooperation in the years ahead. In this context, I would like to emphasise the importance we attach to our relations with Kuwait in all areas.

I would like to end by wishing your readers, all the citizens, all friendly people of Kuwait progress in economic and social development independence, welfare, happiness and peace.

Ceausescu Message on Palestine State Anniversary

AU2111145889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat on the first anniversary of the founding of the State of Palestine—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee:

The first anniversary of the proclamation of the State of Palestine, an event of historical importance for the Palestinian people, gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you most cordial greetings.

I also reaffirm, on this occasion, the consistent position and the support granted by the Socialist Republic of Romania to finding just and durable political solutions to the situation in the Middle East; an action that can ensure the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and to their independent state, and that can guarantee the security and independence of all countries in that region. Today, more than ever, it is necessary that the Palestinian people and the PLO take resolute actions, in complete unity, in order to ensure the convening of an international conference under UN aegis as soon as possible, with the participation of all interested sides and the permanent members of the Security Council.

I express my belief that the friendship and solidarity between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the State of Palestine, between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the PLO, and between the Romanian and the Palestinian peoples will continue to develop and consolidate for the mutual benefit and in the interest of finding constructive solutions to the problems in the Middle East and of the general cause of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

I extend to you wishes for much health and personal happiness and for great success in fulfilling the national aspirations of the Palestinian people to live in a free and independent homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

'Arafat's Sends Message of Thanks to Ceausescu

AU2511204189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Nov 89 p 10

[Message of thanks from Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the Palestinian Government and people, the PLO Executive Committee, and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in expressing, dear comrade, heartfelt thanks to the Romanian Government and friendly people, together with feelings of gratitude, for the warm congratulatory message you extended on the first anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the State of Palestine.

We want to express our great appreciation to you for the consistent support granted by the Socialist Republic of Romania, under your clear-sighted and courageous leadership, for the just Palestinian cause, for our people's constant struggle, and for our people's revolt to put an end to Israeli occupation and to regain and exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to return home, to self-determination, and to building an independent Palestinian state.

The affirmation by you of the support for our people and their national revolt lends our people even greater strength and stimulates their determination to continue their struggle for achieving just peace in Palestine and in our area. We hope to work toward peace through the organization of an international conference of peace in the Middle East under UN aegis and with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council, on an equal basis, and of all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Dear Comrade President, we want to assure you of our conviction and determination to work toward continuing and intensifying the relations of friendship, solidarity, and constructive cooperation between our friendly peoples; between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the State of Palestine, between your militant party and the PLO on bases that serve our common ideals and our mutual interests, including the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East. This peace has a vital impact on the achievement of international peace and security.

In expressing once again thanks and gratitude, I wish you, dear comrade, much good health and happiness; I wish the Romanian people constant progress and development under your wise leadership.

Revolution until victory is won!

Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee

CSSR Leaders Express Thanks for Greetings

AU2311110689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Nov 89 p 5

[Message of thanks from CSSR Leaders to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and to Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu for greetings on CSSR National Day—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear comrades: On behalf of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CZCP] Central Committee, the CSSR Government and people, and on our own behalf, we express cordial thanks for the warm greetings and fraternal congratulations that you conveyed to us on the 71st anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic.

We share your belief that the relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between our parties and countries will constantly expand and consolidate, in the future too, in the spirit of the decisions adopted during summit meetings, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of strengthening socialism, peace, and security in the world.

We take this opportunity to extend to you, and to all the Romanian people, wishes for many successes in fulfilling the decisions of the coming 14th RCP Congress.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CZCP Central Committee

Gustav Husak, CSSR President

Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government

Nation's 'Space Applications Programs' Viewed

AU1411095189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0947 GMT 14 Nov 89

["Space Programme"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/11/1989—The Romanian Commission for Outer Space Activities and the Compartment for Space-Related Questions working within the National Committee for Science and Technology have oriented their space applications programmes in three directions: Remote surveying of natural resources, telecommunications and weather forecasting and many-sided investigation of the universe.

Romania's options in the field of remote sensing of the earth, based on the concrete conditions in this country, focus on pilot projects in the fields of agriculture, geology and hydrology. The images broadcast from space have made it possible to conduct detailed analyses of certain areas in the Carpathians, to detect various nonferrous metal deposits and geothermal water springs.

The Romanian telecommunications complex was inaugurated by the construction at Cheia (Prahova County) of a ground station fitted with two standard A antennas with a 32-m diametre for Intelsat-type satellites securing

communication with areas in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. At present, seagoing ships fitted with satellite communication systems have started being built and a plan to set up a new ground station for sea navigation in the Inmarsat and Intersputnik systems is being considered.

The third category of programmes which calls for joint international efforts to investigate new phenomena of the universe, to study the biosphere in depth and intensify research of outer space materializes in the manufacture of apparatus and the carrying out of tests on four main lines: The investigation of the phenomena and processes taking place in outer space, the research of lunar soil and of the possibilities of its utilization, the analysis of human behaviour in conditions of imponderability and, finally, the devising of instruments meant to equip spacecraft.

Covering a wide palette of activities ranging from practical experiments such as the research of the earth's natural resources to experiments in the areas of space, biological and meteorological sciences, the Romanian space programmes, some of which have a trail-blazing character, are harmoniously integrated into the worldwide efforts conducive to man's deeper penetration of the secrets of outer space and its utilization for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

Ceausescu on Death of Spanish Party President

AU1611095089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 89 p 6

[Message of condolences from Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, to Julio Anguita Gonzalez, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, on the death of the party's president, Dolores Ibarruri—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Julio Anguita Gonzalez, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]

We learned with deep sorrow about the death of the PCE president, Comrade Dolores Ibarruri.

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, the Romanian Communists, and on my own behalf I extend to you, to the PCE Central Committee, and to the Spanish Communists most profound condolences for the great loss you have suffered through the death of Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, ardent revolutionary and front-ranking activist of the Communist Party and of the Spanish workers' movement and an important militant of the international communist and workers movement.

In our country we are familiar with Comrade Dolores Ibarruri's outstanding personality as a patriot and legendary hero in the struggle against fascism, exploitation, and oppression, and for social liberation, and we are familiar with her long-standing revolutionary activity devoted to safeguarding the interests of the working people, fulfilling the fundamental aspiration of the Spanish people for freedom, democracy, and for independent development on the path of socioeconomic progress. Likewise, Comrade Dolores Ibarruri has consistently militated for the development of cooperation among and the consolidation of solidarity between communist and workers parties and the revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere in the struggle for social and national liberation, for peace, disarmament, independence, and progress.

The Romanian Communists have always regarded Comrade Dolores Ibarruri as a close friend of the Romanian people and highly valued her contribution to continuously strengthening friendship, militant solidarity, and cooperation between the RCP and the PCE and between our peoples.

Once again, I express the feelings of deep compassion of the Romanian Communists and I reaffirm my belief that the traditional relations between our parties will continue to more markedly develop in the future, for the benefit of the Romanian and the Spanish peoples and in the interest of the cause of consolidating cooperation and the unity of revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Please convey sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Constantin Attends Funeral

AU1811144489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2101 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/11/1989—The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] was represented to the funeral of the president of the Communist Party of Spain, Dolores Ibarruri, also attended by delegations of communist and worker parties, liberation movements and other revolutionary, progressive organizations by a delegation led by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium. On behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu, the delegation laid a floral wreath on the bier where Dolores Ibarruri's body lay in state, conveyed feelings of compassion to the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain and signed the book of condolences.

Indictment Read Out at Azem Vlasi Trial

LD2411122289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—At the resumed main hearing in front of the five-man council of the district public prosecutor, the indictment was read out charging the 15 accused with the crime of counter-revolutionary endangering of the country's social order.

The prosecutor cited that the accused Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abraisi, Burhan Kavaja, and Ljazer Krasnici expressed their unmediated activities in organizing and supporting mass protest gatherings and demonstrations of citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo in November last year and the miners strike in Stari Trq in February this year. The other 11 accused are charged with criminal acts committed only during the February strike.

Further on Ljubljana Rally Planned for 1 Dec

Silence on Meeting Questioned

AU2411223189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Nov 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Federal Organs Keep Silent"]

[Text] "The march on Ljubljana would show the truth about Yugoslavia, about a state like an ostrich which is unable to prevent the announced short circuit in the overcharged atmosphere of the political propaganda civil war," Franco Juri says. He is right; the overt threats by the Kosovo Polje committee that it will endeavor to destabilize Slovenia even at the price of bloodshed open up some questions about the role of the federal state in the (for the time being) verbal conflict between the republics.

In the "Slovene view" of the federation, the announced march would de facto be an act of civil war, because the people of one sovereign state would march against the legal and legitimate representatives of another state. The federal organs, from the state presidency and the assembly to the government and the defense ministry are obliged, in conformity with their constitutional and legal powers, to prevent such an intention in advance; if they do not prevent it, the question of the "purpose" of Yugoslavia arises at once.

The "Serbian view" of the Yugoslav federation (the original sovereignty of the federation) indeed stresses civil and thus also political rights on the entire Yugoslav territory, but this does not change the essence of the problem. The state presidency, the Army, and other federal state institutions are obliged to protect the ruling constitutional order, which means that they should intervene when somebody tries to push out by force the legally elected representatives of the people. By the way: In the cases of the "antibureaucratic revolution" in Vojvodina and Montenegro we must, strictly speaking, speak about a kind of abdication by the leaderships there, which from a formal legal angle is something different.

In the developments between Kosovo Polje and Ljubljana, there have been several moves which at least border on criminal acts, such as, for instance, the latest statement by the secretary of the Kosovo Polje committee, which mentions clashes, possible casualties, and so forth. In brief, the Serbian state should make a move, unless of course Serbia interprets in a different way the provisions of the criminal law that refer to fomenting national and racial hatred, calls for a violent overthrow of the constitutional order, and so forth.

Of course no Slovene at this moment believes in the miracle of the Serbian law enforcement organs acting against the Kosovo Polje committee, and therefore the Slovenes certainly ask where the federal state institutions have been hiding when faced with this amazing campaign against the sovereignty of a republic. Of course they still remember well the amendments to the Slovene Constitution when it was possible to convene sessions of the state and the party top leaderships so to speak overnight; but now when one can virtually hear calls to civil war, neither the Presidency nor the one that always has an opinion about everything, the Party, have been heard. The matter is even more curious because it is certain that an appropriate political move from the very top could to a considerable extent calm down the passions that now threaten to set the house on fire even without the intended march on Ljubljana.

The state Presidency, the representatives of the Army, and other segments of the federal state probably have their political criteria on whether to interfere in such internal political problems, and if they do interfere, when and how to intervene. However, they should be well aware that they are under a constant critical scrutiny by the public who do not miss even the barely noticeable traces of possible double standards in judging internal political situation and individual problems. Why on one occasion such a hurry, as for instance regarding the alleged attacks on the Army, and on another, when we may speak about an overt attack on the political integrity of a republic, even the most verbose "guardians of Yugoslavia" keep silent as if think that it serves us right?

In no federal state can the federal authorities afford to lose credibility among the federal units and the people, and even less to give rise to doubts about their unbiased arbitration. If the federal institutions hurry more in some cases than in others, they should not be surprised that the love for "our common motherland" is quite fiery in some places and essentially cooler in others. A Slovene, for instance, who is resolutely against the Ljubljana meeting, probably simply does not know what he should think about "Belgrade," which protects him against all external enemies (let us for the moment disregard the question of who these are), but against the internal....

With the present significant silence by the federal state institutions, the complications between Kosovo Polje and Ljubljana thus open up numerous questions on what Yugoslavia should be as our common "house" and what it is. If to some people such a house offers no protection against rain, they soon begin to think about a different solution. Let us hope that the federal state in this particular case will give as little occasion for such thoughts as possible, unless, of course, somebody wants Slovenia alone to deal with the storm troops from Serbia, and then....

Drnovsek Urge's Rally Cancellation

LD2411112189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency, President Janez Drnovsek today appealed to all those who urge the holding of a protest rally by Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana on December 1 to drop the idea which he said "would not contribute to improving the situation in the country.

Drnovsek stressed that he was opposed to the holding of the rally in Ljubljana and all other meetings organized on a national basis, as they are not conducive to improving the poor intra-national and intra-republican relations in Yugoslavia, and to resolving the difficult situation in the southern province of Kosovo.

He said that the rally in ljubljana, which the association for the return of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins claims will be attended by between 30,000 and 40,000 people, would do "more harm than good".

Drnovsek also said that responsible state organs "will maintain law and order and resolutely oppose all forms of nationalist activity."

Drnovsek recalled that the State Presidency had on several occasions clearly pointed out the negative consequences of mass protest gatherings in the territories of republics and (?provinces) whose authorities have not sanctioned them.

The authorities of Yugoslavia's most developed republic of Slovenia have banned the rally in Ljubljana on the grounds that it would seriously threaten law and order.

Drnovsek said the situation could be overcome through direct contacts between Kosovo Serbs and Motenegrins and citizens and representatives of Slovenian organs and organizations.

He also noted that the announcement of the rally and the ensuring reactions had resulted in a situation directly jeopardizing the efforts which he, as president of state Presidency, has lately invested for the easing of intra-nationality tensions through a peaceful, tolerant and constructive dialogue aimed at urgently surmounting the economic and political crisis in Yugoslav society.

Slovenian Officials on Rally

LD2411095889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2255 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, November 23 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's republic of Slovenia Janez Stanovnik told a press conference here today that the Presidency, the government and other responsible organs in Slovenia will take all the necessary measures for putting into effect the ban on a mass rally Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins are planning to hold on December 1 in the republics's capital Ljubljana.

Such a rally is unnecessary and harmful as it would pose a serious threat to public order and peace and fan up interethnic conflicts, said Stanovnik.

He went on to note that yesterday's statement by the Presidency of Yugoslavia on the need for finding possibilities of realizing direct communication between the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and the representatives of Slovene organizations and organs, has caused a shock in the republic.

Stanovnik strongly criticized the Presidency of Yugoslavia and pointed out that the Slovenian Presidency and government, together with the other responsible organs in the republic, would take all the necessary measures for implementing the ban.

The rally was also discussed at today's Slovenian government session where the republican Interior Secretary Tomaz Ertl said the organs maintaining law and order had been reinforced by police reserves and would do everything, even in the case of the "constant participants in rallies coming, to ensure the observance of the public law, peace and security of the population of Slovenia and of their common property."

Ertl also said that under the law, nobody in Slovenia, including the republican Presidency, has the right to adopt any measure to restrict movements on the republic's territory as long as the public order and peace are observed. "This means that nobody will physically restrict movements of possible visitors in Slovenia," he remarked.

The recently-founded Alliance for the Maintenance of Equality of Citizens on Thursday issued a statement saying that a delegation of the Alliance and representatives of the Bozur (Fire King Peony) Associations will meet in Kosovo Polje, in the Kosovo Province, in an effort to jointly find a solution to the situation which has arisen over the associations's plan to hold the mass rally in Ljubljana. In the discussion the two sides are to reach accord on the "most acceptable ways of presenting the truth about the situation in Kosovo," the statement said.

Speaking in Ljubljana this evening, President of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Presidency Milan Kucan assessed the announced rally of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana as an

attempt to deny Slovenia's sovereignty and statehood and the sovereignty of the Slovene people.

Kucan said that nobody was negating to the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins the right that their truth be heard in Slovenia, although 'it has been said times without number that we are against Serbs and Montenegrins leaving their homes under pressure and against violence they are being exposed to, but also that we doubt that a policy of represssion can ensure life together to the people in Kosovo'.

According to Kucan, the purpose of desseminating the truth cannot be served by the noise of rally marches. He maintains that it is good that the Slovene organs of authority have replied in the negative to the request for the rally to be held. This is a lawful act and it is in keeping with the publicly stated will of our people who have firmly rejected the holding of rallies, Kucan said.

Croat Assembly Opposes Rally

LD2411123189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia is against the announced meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December and demands that the federal assembly and the assemblies of the republics and provinces, as well as all the constitutionally responsible organs prevent the holding of the meeting. In this, the Croat Assembly bears in mind that the appropriate organ in sovereign Slovenia has already banned the meeting.

These stands were endorsed today by the delegates of the Croat Assembly, unanimously and without argument, on the second day of their work, expressing great concern in connection with the announced meeting in Ljubljana. In the stands, the assessment is made that the political crisis has reached a dramatic phase, but that a way out can be found only in a democratic atmosphere. In this case it means that all Yugoslavia should realize what the meeting in Ljubljana could mean in objective terms.

The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia calls attention to different possiblities for a dialogue and to the fact that energy should be used primarily to deal with economic problems. In conclusion, it is pointed out that the Croat Assembly will undertake all necessary measures to ensure the protection of the integrity of Yugoslavia and Croatia, as well as the peace and safety of citizens.

Government Instructs Police on Rally

LD2511065189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2259 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today instructed the Federal Police to take all legal steps, in cooperation with the competent republican and provincial organs, to maintain public law and order in the country in anticipation of a rally by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins announced for December 1 in the Slovene capital of Ljubljana.

At its session in Belgrade, the Federal Government emphasized that the decisions of the organs of the republics and provinces are binding on all to whom they may apply and that the federal units are responsible for maintaining law and order in their territories.

Meanwhile, President of the Assembly of Slovenia Miran Potrc, said at a gathering that the Slovene leadership rejects the dictates of 'rallyists' and does not believe in their good intentions, and described the announced rally of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana as a 'flagrant infringement upon the democratic feelings and freedom of the Slovene people'.

The presidency of the Republic of Croatia also declared itself against the rally today, stressing that rallies on a national basis are unacceptable, as they are not conducive to surmounting the crisis and instability in Yugoslavia.

The stand has been firmly upheld by the Croatian Republican assembly.

The leadership of an association working for the return to the province of Kosovo of Serbs and Montenegrins forced from their homes has assessed as contradictory yesterday's statement made by president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Janez Drnovsek, as he declared himself against the rally, while at the same time urging direct communication between Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and representatives of the organs and organizations of the republic of Slovenia, in order that the former should be given a chance to tell the truth about Kosovo.

It has been learned that the association will tomorrow take its final decision on whether Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins should go to Ljubljana.

Kosovo Serbs Decide To March on Ljubljana

AU2511200989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The committee of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins decided in Kosovo Polje today to hold a Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana. The session was also attended by some 200 Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians from all over Kosovo. Milivoje Mihailovic reports:

[Begin Mihailovic recording] The Meeting of Truth will begin in Ljubljana at high noon on 1 December. This is the latest decision by the committee of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, which organizes the meeting in the capital of Slovenia. It was said at the committee meeting today that the statements and assessments in Slovenia about the announced meeting merely confirm the anti- Yugoslav orientation of the Slovene leadership, which has been manifested

several times, and lay bare the tragic truth about the state of democracy in that republic.

The police regime and the propaganda machinery that fabricate untruths about Kosovo and Serbia, it was said at the meeting of the committee, are two faces of one Slovene coin. Regarding the offers to have talks with the Slovene leadership in Ljubljana, the committee rejects any talks with, as they put it, a police regime. A leadership that is afraid of Yugoslav citizens does not deserve to have anybody to talk to it. Anyhow, it is our desire that we announce the truth about Kosovo to the public and not to the leadership of Slovenia, the committee members believe.

The meeting today was also attended by the representatives of the Council for the Equality of Citizens in Ljubljana who proposed that instead of the announced meeting, a roundtable discussion should be held on 28 November in the Slovene capital, at which the truth about Kosovo should be presented, and a friendship meeting should then be held in Ljubljana. The roundtable discussion would be relayed live by the Yugoslav television stations. This proposal was not accepted.

It was stressed in the discussion that Kosovo people do not carry weapons to Slovenia, but that the truth is their weapon. It was proposed that the Kosovo participants of the Meeting of Truth should take with them two cakes—one to be shared as a token of friendship with the brotherly people of Croatia at the Zagreb railroad station, and the other to be shared with the Slovene people in Ljubljana. Ilija Milanovic of the Council for the Equality of Citizens of Ljubljana said that the Kosovo people will be welcomed in Slovenia, and he asked them to behave with dignity. He closed his speech with the words: See you in Ljubljana. [end recording]

'Extreme Nationalists' Rising

AU2511201189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Marjan Drobez report from Kosovo]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Lies and fabrications, along with threats and with the assertions that the meeting participants will arrive in Ljubljana as conveyers of truth and solidarity—all this one could read in the statement adopted at the meeting in Kosovo Polje today—show that extreme nationalists are coming more and more to the fore in the present situation. With their slogans and the glorification of Serbia—Yugoslavia is obviously only a pretext—they cause greatest harm to the Serbs and Montenegrins who indeed in Kosovo live in many difficulties and uncertainty. Their troubles are not greater than the difficulties of other ethnic groups, especially the majority of ethnic Albanians.

One of the speakers at Kosovo Polje was indeed an Albanian, but the major ethnic group is united in condemning the meeting in Ljubljana.

Meeting Trains May Be Stopped

AU2511201389 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Here is a report by our correspondent Marjan Jerman, who this morning covered a news conference held by the Ljubljana Train Engineers Union in cooperation with their Croatian colleagues. The news conference was told about actions that may be carried out if the Kosovo Polje people persist in their decision.

The Slovene and Croatian railroadmen are resolutely against the announced Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana. It was stressed at a news conference today that the said meeting would not help in any way to improve the situation in the country, but could only worsen it.

The president of the Ljubljana Train Engineers Union, in coordination with the Croatian colleagues, said today that if necessary, and in cooperation with the railroad management, all the special trains carrying the meeting participants will be stopped at Dobova [the first station in Slovenia on the Zagreb-Ljubljana railroad line, where electric engines have to be changed].

Asked by Serbian journalists whether this would mean a violation of freedom of movement as guaranteed by the Constitution, the train engineers said no, because a law provides that the departure or arrival of any special train must be notified 10 days in advance. The Slovene railroads have received no such notifications.

At the same time, the railroadmen, or rather the train engineers, asked the journalists how could they imagine an engineer driving a train containing people threatening with arms and bloodshed. The train engineers especially stressed that whatever they do, they will do it in agreement with the railroad management. Their first duty, they say, is to ensure railroad traffic safety, and they will do their best to this end.

Asked by journalists what will happen if trains are stopped and disorders by meeting participants occur, the train engineers replied that disorders will not be caused by railroadmen; if they happen, others will cause them, and this no longer will be a problem for the railroadmen but for the internal affairs organs. Those who cause disorders, if they do, will be called to account, but no guilt will attach to the train engineers as some people imply. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Serb Protest Meeting in Musutiste

AU2311175589 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Nov 89 p 12

[R.R. report: "Realistic Demands Will Be Met"]

[Excerpts] Suva Reka, 18 Nov—On the initiative of the Serbian residents of the Pasina Mahala quarter of Musutiste near Suva Reka, a protest meeting of more than 300 Serbs from Musutiste and surrounding villages was held yesterday evening in the Hall of Culture. The

meeting was organized by the Musutiste All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee and was chaired by Radovan Mihajlovic, its president. Halit Berisha, president of the Communal Committee; Milorad Stojanovic, secretary of the League of Communists Communal Committee; and Asllan Bekteshi, president of the Suva Reka Commune Socialist Youth Federation, were also present.

The purpose of this meeting, as many speakers pointed out, was to protest against the reelection of Mirko Krstic as president of the Suva Reka Socialist Alliance of Working People Communal Conference, while speakers also spoke about a range of problems and demands concerning the Musutiste local community and the position of the Serbian people in Suva Reka. It was said at the meeting that the political and security situation, despite some steps that have been taken, is not changing for the better, that Serbian and Montenegrin emigration is continuing, that proper ideopolitical differentiation is lagging behind, and that various demands of local citizens in connection with problems of the infrastructure, and the like, have not been met. The majority of speakers expressed their rage, often in emotional tones, at the inadequate representation of Serbs in the composition of cadres at communal level, because certain individuals of this nationality, in spite of the opinion of the base, have merely changed places in a game of musical chairs. It was said that such a thing is convenient for certain members of the leadership, who are in fact incompetent, because only biddable people are elected. [passage omitted]

Yesterday evening's meeting also mentioned damage to fields, the sale of real estate at very high prices, the failure to identify the culprits of the attack on the Serbian graves in the village of Dvorane and of the cutting of the telephone lines in Musutiste, the writers of hostile slogans, and so on. Some speakers expressed regret that the meeting was only attended by members of one nationality, stressing that the Albanians should also raise their voices against bureaucracy. There were also speeches appealing for a common life and a substantial commitment to strengthening brotherhood and unity, out of a conviction that everybody's future depends on full unity and joint action. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Academicians Write to Drnovsek

AU2411220089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] A group of Kosovo academicians, including Idriz Ajeti, Osman Nimani, Rexhep Qosja, Gazmend Zajmi, Dervish Ferozaja, Mark Krasniqi, Muslim Mulici, and [name indistinct] Mekuli have sent a letter to Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, in which they draw his attention to the threat against the cultural heritage of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo. They mention as an example the decision of the Pec Communal Assembly to change the names of some streets. The letter states that this decision may exacerbate the already complicated interethnic relations and that the situation in Kosovo may thus become destabilized.

Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Holds Session

Sipovac Addresses Session

LD2111161989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Embargoed until further notice]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The League of Communists [LC] is being examined for its historical and social responsibility on the road of radical social reforms. In order to pass it successfully, it is vital that it transform itself. The result of this transformation must be a break with unproductive party work, the characteristics of which are known—forum style- work, passivity and irresponsibility, deformations in internal relations, and divisions and political conflicts.

If things remain as they have done in the past, warned [Nedeljko Sipovac] the president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium in his speech today at the 19th extraordinary conference of Vojvodina communists, there will be no reforms nor emergence from the present situation.

The LC will confirm its role and social justification, Sipovac added, only if it reacts critically and inventively and in a timely and fruitful way to the existing and coming challenges. A necessary precondition for this is the democratic unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. This consciousness must be a united one throughout the LCY and each part of it.

It is only if in all the parts of the LC and in the country we move forward resolutely in recalling the causes of the overall social crisis and the implementation of social reforms that prosperity and a more secure and certain future of this country is possible, Sipovac said.

If something can be said with certainty in this time of powerful changes and disagreements, he stressed, it is that most citizens in this country want an economically more prosperous Yugoslavia, with more democratic rights and freedoms, as a federation of equal nations and nationalities. It wants for itself and for the generations which are growing up and coming along a more certain and secure future.

Communists of Vojvodina, Sipovac stressed, advocate a socialism based on political and economic freedoms. We support the orientation that the human being and his interests are at the center of social development. This is possible, he added, only if accompanied by full respect for human rights and freedoms and in conditions for the development of democracy.

We advocate, Sipovac stressed, a society of free people and ideas, and of legal security—a society in which all citizens are equal before the law and in which market laws will be appreciated.

This is a a society based on democracy instead of on the domination of the state and politics, a society organized on the principles of economic rationality and efficiency, in which a modern and efficient law-governed state will operate.

Sipovac drew attention to the fact that our political system, especially in the sphere of democracy and efficiency, has demonstrated major weaknesses and contributed to the depth of the present crisis. Today it represents in practice a bureaucratic labyrinth in which the individual, as a being with his needs and interests, has become lost. It has proved itself to be not only unable to function, expensive, complicated, and insensitive to people's interests and needs, but also unable to resolve the key problems of society.

Sipovac believes that the current political system represents a powerful normative basis for the dizzy development of the disintegrating processes in Yugoslavia which are threatening to turn us into the most powerless country in Europe.

The powerful affirmation of the citizen-cum-individual, as a subject of the political system, is needed, but so is the reaffirmation of the rights and freedoms of the individual and of citizens, Sipovac believes.

[Passage omitted] The Yugoslav community cannot be a crude collection of separate national identities and states. The so-called asymmetric federation, in other words the confederative conception of relations in Yugoslavia, directly threatens the unity of the working class, the equality of the nations and nationalities, and the unity and capacity for action of the LCY, and in the final resort, the stability and survival of the country, Sipovac stressed.

Communists, working people and citizens, and all the nations and nationalities in Vojvodina are in favor of greater unity and togetherness in Serbia, and also in Yugoslavia.

Sipovac was resolute: We do not accede to the notions and interpretations which divide and cause conflicts among these two mutually connected and complementary processes. A disunited Serbia is not in the interests of Yugoslavia, nor can Yugoslavia develop in a stable way—and be a united and powerful democratic community of equal nations and nationalities—if Serbia is not united and if there is no ideopolitical and action unity in the Serbian LC.

A democratically reformed Yugoslav society also implies a corresponding organization of political life. It is quite clear that it is no longer possible or realistic to expect the resolution of social problems with the monopolistic position of the LC. It is unavoidable that a stance must be adopted vis-a-vis political pluralism as the driving force for emergence from the crisis and as an essential condition for the development of democracy.

Political pluralism, Sipovac believes, should create room for the realization of the rights of the individual and for the free expression of interests, and facilitate the affirmation of progressive ideas, initiatives and programmes, above all within a reformed Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP].

The debates which we have had so far and what we know, indicates, Sipovac added, that the multiparty system does not have broad support in Vojvodina, especially among the working class. We do not believe that in the present conditions a multiparty system is the solution to the problems of this society. This is all the more true if it is a matter of a national multiparty system, in other words, the unification and political organization of people exclusively as members of their own national collectivity against others.

At this point in time we perceive political pluralism as a possible and unavoidable option in the struggle to eliminate bureaucratic-statist and every other formal and informal monopoly in society, in other words as a vital function of the development of partyless democracy. [passage omitted]

The basic feature of the current political moment, in the assessment of Sipovac, is the growth of national disagreements and conflicts. In the conditions of social and class divisions such as we have, it is inevitable that some of these interest-based conflicts occur also on a national level. It is obvious that the national element has overshadowed the class and human element.

Some of the constitutional solutions dating from 1974, Sipovac observed, made it possible to transform the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] equality of the nations and nationalities into the equality of national republics, or rather, the statehood of burdened provinces. National bureaucracies, in accordance with their position, have imposed divisions. Republican and provincial interests, which are often in conflict, have been dressed in a national garb and are portrayed as the defense of national interests. The nation has become the measure of everything.

In the opinion of Nedeljko Sipovac, the primacy of the nation has been established as has the primacy of the national identity of the individual and the freedom of the nation over the freedom of the individual. Any mention of class, in some environments, is rejected as a Bolshevist misconception dividing and splitting the nation and as a threat to majority decision-making.

When discussing the development of interethnic relations, the individual, in other words the citizen and his freedom and rights which certainly also include national freedoms and rights, must, in Sipovac's view, be given prominence. This imposes the need to create in the reform plan a framework for the further development

and resolution of intranational relations, especially the conditions for guaranteeing freedom and equal rights and duties to all citizens, independent of their national affiliation.

Our stance and orientation in Vojvodina, as a multinational environment and as part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, is that we preserve good interethnic relations and advance them further. We advocate that they be like this throughout Yugoslavia. This requires that we address ourselves to things which will make us prosperous—each human being and each nation individually, but also altogether—and to things which can integrate and strengthen Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities, Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, concluded in his address to the 19th extraordinary conference of Vojvodina communists.

Provincial Committee Elected

LD2411155789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2117 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates to the 19th extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] today elected 95 members of the new Provincial Committee out of 119 proposed candidates. In the first round of voting last night [21 November], 93 members were elected while the voting for other two members took place this afternoon. The following is the newly-elected Provincial Committee of Vojvodina LC [with the number of votes received]: Milan Ackimovic (332); Vlastimir Andjelkovic (300); Jovan Babovic (329); Jadran Bandic (296); Dusanka Banjac (319); Djura Bjelobrk (263); Milovan Blazic (311); Istvan Bodoci (257); Deze Bordas (240); Emilija Bruner-Bala (361); Ivan Bugarski (252); Zoltan Bunjik (309); Zeljko Copkov (243); Dragutin Crnjakovic (262); Branislav Ceranic (297); Vlastimir Curcic (317); Jelena Cesljevic (278); Djordje Dejanovic (255); Ruza Delic (282); Janos Domokos (249); Vojislava Dragovic-Tubic (301); Branko Drljaca (297); Dusanka Dujin (281); Svetozar Dujin (249); Milos Djatkov (282); Savo Djurdjic (290); Blagoje Djuric (258); Sava Djuric (284); Milan Djurickov (243); Zlatko Fiser (247); Slobodan Gazivoda (269); Slavko Gordic (334); Dusan Govorcin (237); Bozo Grubic (281); Miodrag Gudelj (258); Andjelko Gutovic (254); Zuzana Horvat (270); Milutin Jaksic (274); Aleksandar Jankov (280); Sava Jankov (257); Istvan Katai (237); Mihalj Kertes (301); Bogdan Kokotovic (274); Milenko Koncos (231); Labud Kostic (285); Milan Kostic (293); Tibor Kovac (268); Nebojsa Krajovan (290); Ranko Kruscic (268); Milan Kubota (258); Rade Kukolj (263); Ernest Lacko (231); Ljubo Latinovic (295); Milivoje Lazic (278); Stojadin Ljubenkovic (241); Stana Macura (284); Bosko Mandic (283); Milica Marinkovic (277); Vasa Marjanu (239); Miroslav Markovic (264); Petar Mesaros (250); Zoran Micunovic (267); Stevan Miljakovic (246); Milivoj Milivojevic (249); Dusko Mirkov (286); Stavrija Mitic (251); Mirko Mitrov (261); Balaz Nadj (245); Petar Nedeljkovic (281); Jovo Nijkic (259); Andjelka Paunovic (283); Milan Pecanac (246); Ljubislav Pejin (229); Predrag Perusina (246); Vidosav Petrovic (257); Vlada Popovic (310); Dragana Radinovic (268); Jovo Rados (261); Dusko Radjenovic (261); Katica Rajkov-Popovic (250); Djordje Ratic (273); Dusan Riberov (235); Jan Sabo (230); Snezana Savic (275); Dragan Simic (244); Dragisa Slijepcevic (260); Petar Stojanovic (229); Marija Strugar (289); Nedeljko Sipovac (344); Valerija Svarc (254); Jovan Tica (277); Mirjana Zlatkovic (230); Dragoje Zarkovic (301); Dusan Vidovic (341); Mihajlo Stanivukovic (300).

Central Committee Candidates Chosen

LD2411162189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates of the 19th extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] elected 14 of the 17 proposed candidates for the Vojvodina LC Central Committee.

A total of 444 delegates took part in voting at the extraordinary conference, and 10 voting papers were invalid.

At the Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], delegates will elect 10 from 14 candidates on the list.

Elected candidates from Vojvodina are the following:

1. Batalo, Sinisa (364 votes), 2. Bozovic, radovan (338 votes), 3. Bruner, Bala Emilija (51), 4. Cupic, Gavrilo (285), 5. Djapic, Branko (266), 6. Janjic, Mitar (308), 7. Jereminov, Predrag (361), 8. Kovacevic, Aleksandar (310), 9. Kovacevic, Jovanka (309), 10. Mitrovic, Biljana (313), 11. Pankov, Radovan (329), 12. Popovic, Rajko (287), 13. Vojvodic, Tomislav (288), 14. Vukadinovic, Radovan (279).

Further on Presidium Election

LD2411155889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2203 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Summary] At its first session this evening, the newly-elected Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC], out of 17 proposed candidates, elected the following 14 members for its new Presidium: Jovan Babovic; Milovan Blazic; Emilija Bruner-Bala; Slavko Gordic; Ernest Lacko; Ljubo Latinovic; Vasa Marjanu; Dusko Mirkov; Balaz Nadj; Vlada Popovic; Dusko Radenovic; Jovan Tica; Mirjana Zlatkovic; Dragoje Zarkovic.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee this evening also proposed Sinisa Batalo and Predrag Jereminov as Vojvodina LC's representatives at the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee. Of the two proposed candidates, the LCY Central Committee will elect one to membership in the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

At its first session this evening, the Presidium of Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee elected Emilija Bruner-Bala secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Sipovac Elected LC President

LD2411105389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—At this evening's first meeting of the members of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee, Nedeljko Sipovac, currently president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, was elected by secret ballot as president of the communists of the province.

The other candidate was Dr Slavko Gordic, professor at the University of Novi Sad.

Of the 91 members of the Provincial Committee present, 79 delegates voted for Sipovac. Slavko Gordic received 12 votes.

Conference Concludes 22 Nov

LD2411162989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0004 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—A two-day special conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, Yugoslavia's northern province, ended in Novi Sad this evening by adopting a final resolution and electing the new leadership.

Economist Nedeljko Sipovac (47) was re-elected as president of the provincial party committee for the next four-year term.

Sipovac has been heading Vojvodina's over 100,000 party members since [word indistinct] this year after the so-called "autonomist" leaders were removed following a wave of public protest after their conflict with the leaders of Yugoslavia's biggest republic of Serbia, whose part Vojvodina is. The resolution of the 19th conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina bears the title "The League of Communists in Social Reforms."

According to Dr Dragoje Zarkovic, an economics professor from Novi Sad and one of the authors of the resolution, in view of the depth of the social, economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia, a radical turn cannot be expected at short notice.